Making Meals in Restaurants

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Making Meals in Restaurants
- Daily Practices and Professional Ideals

Abstract

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Thanks to the gastronomic development in recent decades in Sweden, the restaurant industry is growing significantly and has opportunities to attract new and wider groups of labour. However, despite media images of successful chefs and culinary creativity, there is a common perception of tiring working conditions and low wages that prevent restaurants from attracting staff.

The overall aim of this thesis is to elucidate how professionalism is done and reproduced inside the restaurant industry by means of practice theory and the Five Aspects Meal Model. By an empirically grounded understanding of daily practices in small restaurants the thesis will show and explain how professionalism including leadership, is formed and understood among restaurant practitioners. Additionally by conceptualizing professionalism in restaurant work the thesis will provide a solid basis for the discussion of how knowledge transfer in the restaurant industry can develop. The scientific methods used in two studies were qualitative: interviews with owners/managers/head chefs of small restaurants in a tourist resort and in four major cities in Sweden, and in-depth workplace observations including talks with the owners/managers/head chefs and their staff.

The results show how daily work in restaurants contain conflicting practices, such as time-consuming workload and slow knowledge growth together with lack of control and planning that collide with expectations of creativity and development. Leadership in restaurant kitchens is dependent on knowledge of materiality and ability to show and guide staff as well as having overview and foresight in the daily work. The results also suggests that professionalism in the industry entails practices of mastering the materiality, observant management and, time use including loyal perseverance. The thesis contributes to an in-depth discussion of professionalism in restaurants and the industry's ability to develop time-use, leadership, and new ways of learning, in order to attract and retain staff.

Keywords: craftmanship; FAMM; leadership; hospitality; practice theory; work place training

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List of appended papers

The present thesis is based on the appended papers listed below. In the text they are referred to by their Roman numerals.

Paper I   Restaurant Practices: Time, Planning, Knowledge and Dreams. Wellton, L., Jonsson, I.M., Walter, U. & Svingstedt, A. (2017). *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, Vol. 17(3), pp. 297-311.

Paper II   Making Meals in Small Seasonal Restaurants. Wellton, L., Jonsson, I.M., Walter, U. (2016). *Journal of Culinary Arts and Technology*, published online 26 Oct 2016.

Paper III   'Just trained to be chef, not a leader' – A Study of Head Chef Practices. Wellton, L., Jonsson, I.M. & Svingstedt, A. (2017). *International Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Administration*. In press.

Paper IV   'We are service people and we stay until the job is done' – Enactments of Professionalism in Restaurants and the Role of Workplace Training. Wellton, L., Jonsson, I.M. & Svingstedt, A. (2017). *Journal of Teaching in Travel & Tourism*. Submitted.

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INTRODUCTION

The restaurant industry, as a part of the hospitality industry, faces new challenges calling for innovative thinking. In the strategy document Vision 2020 the Swedish Tourism Board (2011) suggests that the hospitality and restaurant industries should develop and double the number of employees by 2020, and that work places should increase in relation. Furthermore, a directive from the Swedish Government in 2016 focuses on the economic significance of the visitor sector and points to the need for a further study to assist its development, including tourism and hospitality. Simultaneously, the restaurant industry, with its potential to attract many individuals with different kinds of backgrounds, has problems in recruiting and retaining competent personnel. A report from the Swedish Visitor Sector (BFUF, 2017) suggests that the restaurant industry needs to adapt to many new conditions, and that it may even be necessary to make alterations to the way restaurants are run. The report also mentions that improvements to the work environment and competence development for personnel are essential to customer satisfaction in innovative hospitality businesses overall (BFUF, 2017). Additionally, the restaurant industry is struggling with fierce competition and small profit margins (BFUF, 2014).

This thesis highlights how daily work of the restaurant industry is conducted and how working conditions are conceived by industry practitioners. The public conception of the restaurant industry is strongly associated with the contrasting images of restaurant work; on the one hand, top chefs who win fame thanks to their creativity and stamina and, on the other hand, the idea of restaurant work as low status where the workers feel patronized by the publics' service expectations. From inside the industry, restaurant workers speak of their experiences of happy camaraderie and intellectual, social and creative challenges, but also of stressful, badly paid, hard physical labour. This combination of hardship and fulfilment also includes the task of making guests feel comfortable and content, which is a matter of professional pride for all restaurant workers. This service-orientated attitude is much sought after in many industries, but in restaurants it is the essence of the job, as it reflects traditional hospitality values and obligations, even if a commercial transaction is taking place (Lashley, 2008).

It is not only the food served in restaurants that contributes to the customer's expected experience. It is the meal as a whole that constitutes the experience, both from the guests' as well as the producers' perspective. A restaurant meal is an event that takes place in a defined place and time, with

people meeting and having food, however most often determined by economical and regulatory factors (Warde & Martens, 2000; Finkelstein, 1989). In focus is not only the offering of food and drinks but also hospitality is a reciprocal transaction between guest and host (Santich, 2007). Accordingly, as Gustafsson, Öström, Johansson, and Mossberg (2006) indicate, both the service skills in the dining rooms and the culinary skills in the kitchens are equally important in the production of a good restaurant meal experience.

However, the makers of the meal, and the circumstances in which they work, have attracted limited interest from academic researchers, which is a research gap this thesis helps to address. This thesis also contributes insights and knowledge about daily work processes and the managers' responsibility to ensure the industry develops and creates more attractive jobs. This is in line with Cockburn Woottens' (2012) call for more dignified working conditions and alternative to prevalent views on professionalism in both the hospitality industry and associated education: "As critical scholars developing reflective and ethical graduates, we thus have a duty of care to ensure that the organizations they enter are just and meet their needs for meaningful work." Furthermore, becoming a more sustainable industry with sounder work conditions may enhance its chances of survival of its businesses, occupationally, environmentally, and financially. It is reasonable to assume that improved working conditions could make employment in the restaurant industry more attractive to new groups of personnel and, likewise, a professionalisation of the occupation could enhance retention of personnel (Hegarty, 2011; Hussey, Holden & Lynch, 2011; Lee, 2014; Lugosi & Jameson, 2017; Mack, 2012; Mulder, 2014; Robinson, Solnet & Breakey, 2014; Sheldon, 1989; Woodhouse, 2016).

In accordance with these suppositions, the approach chosen here is to investigate in a way not done before, the daily practices in the learning and execution of cooking and serving meals in restaurants, and the running of small restaurants and ideas of professionalism among the practitioners in kitchens and dining rooms. There is a lack of knowledge and understanding of professionalism in restaurants, thus the forming of professional practices including leadership, is a subject that need to be addressed.

This thesis lies within the multi-disciplinary research discipline of Culinary Arts & Meal Science, and the meal-making process is studied from a restaurant research perspective. This thesis also introduces an organisational perspective - Practice theory - to the culinary arts and meal science

discipline to help deepen the understanding in research of its topics. Consequently practice theory is used as an analytical framework in this thesis. The practice theoretical perspective on organisations helped in the understanding of the conditions and the patterns that affect restaurant practitioners' daily work. There are different elements that constitute practices, such as how materiality is essential in all organisational practices in kitchens and dining rooms, how the formation of practices are dependent on knowledge and learning about cooking and serving, how leadership practices in restaurants are formed, how meaning is understood by the restaurant practitioners, how norms and performativity in their workplaces shape practices. And how the practitioners are involved in the relational and situational whole within which they execute their work.

Furthermore, research on professionalism has been useful to distinguish practitioners' collective and individual paths through the restaurant industry and the ideas related to professionalism that flourish in both industry and industry education.

The research methods used in hospitality research addressing the restaurant industry on topics such as education, management, culture, development, and creativity are both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative methods primarily consist of larger surveys, such as Cho, Woods, Yang and Erdems' "Measuring the impact of human resource management practices on hospitality firms' performances" (2006). While, in qualitative studies, interviews dominate (Balazs, 2002; Lane, 2014; Robinson, Solnet, & Breakey, 2014; Stierand, 2015), field studies exist (Demetry, 2013; Fine, 1996/2009; James, 2006; Jönsson, 2012), especially in cultural research. The use of a qualitative method in this thesis – interviews in combination with close observations – provides an opportunity to detail the nature and practice of restaurant work, including the conditions and outcomes in the restaurants, which is something that has rarely been done in restaurant research before. This method is also suitable for investigating the tacit knowledge of restaurant workers, the knowledge transfer between practitioners, the organisational features of restaurants, and the development of professionalism in the industry as it shows how activities are performed; this is essential, because the identification of different daily work activities captured through a practice theoretical framework enables insights into the circumstances that form restaurant work. Furthermore, the framework enhances the understanding of professional ideals in the hospitality industry.

AIM

The overall aim of this thesis is to elucidate how professionalism is done and reproduced inside the restaurant industry by means of practice theory and the Five Aspects Meal Model. By an empirically grounded understanding of daily practices in small restaurants the thesis will show and explain how professionalism including leadership, is formed and understood among restaurant practitioners. Additionally by conceptualizing professionalism in restaurant work the thesis will provide a solid basis for the discussion of how knowledge transfer in the restaurant industry can develop.

The aims of the four appended papers that comprise the overall aim are as follows:

I. To make visible and elucidate the central elements of the practices in small restaurants and seasonal restaurants with the help of practice theory.

II. To examine the relevance of the framework FAMM (the Five Aspects Meal Model) as a qualitative tool for analysing and understanding the production of meals in small restaurants in seasonal tourist destinations.

III. To show how daily leadership practices are enacted by head chefs in small craft restaurants.

IV. To show how professionalism is manifested in the daily practices of restaurants.

STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The thesis consists of a comprehensive summary and four appended papers and is structured in the following way:

The introduction introduces the research area, the research gap, and the aim of the thesis.

Thereafter, a summary of the papers is presented in Table 1 for the reader to get an overview of the content of the papers and to facilitate the understanding of the theoretical and methodological choices made.

The theoretical and analytical framework section of the thesis includes a theoretical background of the discipline of culinary arts and meal science. There is also a review of the research on restaurant work, including craftmanship, the entrepreneurial circumstances of small restaurants, and the framework of FAMM. Thereafter, the analytical framework of practice theory and practice theoretical perspectives on work organisations and learning are presented. Finally, the concept of professionalism research in general, and in the restaurant industry specifically, is introduced.

The methods and material chosen for the thesis are then described, including the qualitative research methods used and about the relevance of the pre-understanding of the researcher. The data material and the data analysis are then described and the credibility of the research is discussed.

The results and discussion are presented in two parts: first, the summarised results of papers I-IV and a concluding discussion

Finally, the contributions and implications of the thesis are presented as well as suggestions for further research.

SUMMARY OF THE APPENDED PAPERS

Table 1, below, is an overview of papers I, II, III and IV, which provides a summary of the contents of each paper's aim, methodology, informants, data analysis and contributions. The papers are based on the data collection from two empirical studies, which is accounted for in the Methods and Materials section.

Table 1. Overview of papers I, II, III and IV

	PAPER I RESTAURANT PRACTICES: TIME, PLANNING, KNOWLEDGE AND DREAMS	*PAPER II* MAKING MEALS IN SMALL SEASONAL RESTAURANTS	*PAPER III* JUST TRAINED TO BE A CHEF, NOT A LEADER: – A STUDY OF HEAD CHEFS' PRACTICES	*PAPER IV* WE ARE SERVICE-PEOPLE AND STAY 'TIL THE JOB IS DONE – ENACTMENTS OF PROFESSIONALISM IN SMALL RESTAURANTS AND THE ROLE OF SITUATED LEARNING
Aim	To make visible and elucidate the central elements in the practices of small restaurants in seasonal tourist destinations with the help of practice theory.	To examine the relevance of FAMM as a qualitative tool for analysing and understanding the production of meals in small restaurants in seasonal tourist destinations.	To show how daily leadership practices are enacted by head chefs in small craft restaurants.	To show how professionalism is manifest in the daily practices of the restaurant industry.
Methodology	Qualitative with interviews and fieldwork, including observations, field visits, an e-mail questionnaire and examination of published information concerning all the restaurants.	Qualitative with interviews and fieldwork, including observations, field visits, an e-mail questionnaire and examination of published information concerning all the restaurants.	Qualitative with observations and 'interviews to the double'.	Qualitative with observations and interviews.
Informants	Eleven owners/managers of eight restaurants in a tourist destination, plus personnel.	Eleven owners/managers of eight restaurants in a tourist destination, plus personnel.	Four head chefs and the personnel of all the restaurants.	The head chefs, restaurant managers and personnel, of eight restaurants in a tourist destination and five restaurants in large cities.

	PAPER I	PAPER II	PAPER III	PAPER IV
Data analysis	Recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim. Notes from the field studies and visits, plus answers from the e-mail questionnaire were all compiled. The empirical results of the study were analysed by means of practice theory, by identifying the elements of knowledge and competence, materiality and technology and sense-making/creation of meaning.	Recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim. Notes from the field studies and visits, plus answers from the e-mail questionnaire were all compiled. Data analysis was conducted in three steps. Meaning units were identified and organised into categories; the categories were then assessed in terms of their similarities; and, when applicable, merged and recategorised. The merged categories were then related to aspects of FAMM.	Interviews and observations transcripts were sorted with the help of an insider's interpretation. All data were interpreted by means of the components of *knowledge, materiality, communication, norms, corporeality,* and *taste-making* that originated from practice theory assumptions in order to exhibit practices of leadership and their entwinement.	Interviews and observations transcripts were sorted with the help of an insider's interpretation. The data were analysed by means of four practice theoretical components: *knowledge and learning, communication, corporeality* and *perseverance* in order to recognise manifestations of professionalism among the restaurant practitioners.
Contributions	Paper I contributes to the field of culinary arts research by describing the daily work practices in a seasonal context from a practice theory perspective. The contribution to practice theory of this paper is the conclusion that points to the fact that practices may be conflicting.	Paper II contributes to the discussion on the Five Aspects Meal Model (FAMM) through an empirical examination of FAMM from the production perspective, showing the aspect of the management control system as influencing the whole of meal production in small, seasonal restaurants. The article closes with a discussion of the lack of a time aspect in FAMM.	Paper III contributes to culinary arts research through a deepened understanding of the daily practices of head chefs in small restaurants. By pointing to much-needed change – a modernisation of traditional hierarchical working conditions in the restaurant industry and toward more inclusive and permissive workplaces – the study contributes to a discussion on leadership in restaurants.	Paper IV contributes to a deeper understanding of professionalism in the restaurant industry. The paper also contributes to discussions of the development of the traditional methods of learning and teaching in the culinary field, and how to better attract and retain personnel and further their occupational commitment.
Publication	*Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism,* Vol. 17(3), pp. 297-311	*Journal of Culinary Arts and Technology,* published online 26 Oct 2016.	*International Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Administration.* Accepted 5 May 2017. In press.	*Journal of Teaching in Travel & Tourism.* Submitted.

THEORETICAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

This section starts with a short definition of the terms of the research area and how they are used in the thesis.

In order to position this thesis within the discipline of culinary arts and meal science, this section continues with a presentation of the discipline's theoretical background and previous research. Also, the discipline's anchoring in practical and aesthetical work is accounted for, in order to convey the research approach of this thesis.

Thereafter, a review of the research on restaurant work is presented to identify factors and dimensions that are important in restaurant work and which are especially relevant for understanding the daily routines and habits in kitchens and dining rooms. This includes historical and educational conditions as well as economic and managerial presumptions. Moreover, the review includes research on craftsmanship, leadership and entrepreneurship that are all part of meal production in small restaurants businesses in both seasonal tourist destinations and larger cities. The connecting framework of the five aspects meal model (FAMM) is also accounted for in this section.

Since restaurant work is practical manual work done together with others, the practice theoretical perspective on organisations was chosen for both the data gathering and the data analysis. Practice theory emphasises physiological and mental activities that comprise the use of things organised with a shared common understanding:

> "Practices may be a routinized way in which bodies are moved, objects are handled, subjects are treated, things are described and the world is understood" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 250).

Practice theory helps to make practices visible and elucidate them. Practices are made up of three central elements – materiality, knowledge and sense-making – that are distinguishable in restaurant work activities. Thus, by means of practice theory, the daily work practices in restaurants can be disclosed. Also, the thesis will address how weaves of practices form and uphold restaurant work, including objects and spaces, know-how and learning, routines and habits, strategies, and the creation of meaning. Therefore, an overview of practice theory and its perspectives on organisations is presented.

In addition, research on time-use is outlined, as time, duration, and timing, are central to preparation and service in restaurant work. The practice

research on time-use in organisations is presented, together with an agentic perspective on time-use, as well as research on time duration and experience.

Finally, concepts of professionalism in general and in the restaurant industry are accounted for. This is because the culinary arts and hospitality research on education in particular, emphasise increased professionalism as the solution to the many of the problems in the industry, such as improvement of both service to guests and working conditions for the practitioners.

The terms of the research area

The hospitality and restaurant industries are examined together and separately in research, and the use of the terms may vary. Therefore, it is appropriate to define how these terms are distinguished in this thesis in relation to previous research. *Hospitality* is a term that is both an overarching philosophical idea about the guest-host relationship (Lashley, 2008) but also a denomination of the industry of hotels and restaurants – a commercial non-domestic hospitality on a large scale. Hospitality research is a collective body of research about all aspects of the hotel and restaurant industries, including management, learning, cooking and culinary arts techniques and customer/guest experiences, and according to Mitchell and Scott (2013), the term includes the emerging research on hospitality as an embodied experience. Hospitality, in this thesis, refers to the service encounter when the guest is acknowledged, greeted and taken care of by the owner/manager or the personnel in the restaurant (Walter, 2011; Gustafsson, 2004). Commercial meals are provided by a broad variety of organisations that are included in the term *restaurant industry*, be it cafés, inns, hotel-restaurants, fast food joints, neighbourhood restaurants fine-dining places, or other organisations where meal offers are part of the service such as hotels, gas stations, and takeaway businesses (Warde & Martens, 2000). The term *restaurant industry* in this thesis, refers to the workplaces of the cooking and serving practitioners, the meal-makers, in enterprises that more or less explicitly categorise themselves as having food and service standards of a medium- or high-level.

In the research discipline of culinary arts and meal science, there are supplementary terms added. Meal-making and meal-makers aim to provide service and food in restaurants, and meal-makers are the performers of these tasks, which will be further elaborated on in the next section.

Culinary Arts and Meal Science

Both education and research in the discipline of culinary arts and meal science are deeply rooted in the practical craft-oriented work that comprise commercial meal-making. In line with the reasoning of Sjömar (2017), who discusses research on craft, in particular the craft of carpentry, it is important to note that theory-formation in practical disciplines is evolving and that multi-disciplinary research in culinary arts and meal science explores and combines established theories. Moreover, it is essential to underscore that scholars in craft-oriented disciplines predominately do not have their starting point of research in theoretical reasoning, but rather in the actual 'doing' and the research questions arise from the activities of the functional procedures of the research area. In this thesis, my empirical knowledge (presented in the *Insider perspective* section) is combined with a theory on work practices. This is consistent, as I see it, with my practical background and the development of the practical oriented discipline of culinary arts and meal science, and also with the ambition to contribute with a theoretical perspective that may help interpretation of qualitative research results in the discipline.

In the multi-disciplinary subject of culinary arts and meal science, of which this thesis is a part, the understanding of the constitution of a meal and its hospitable elements is the scientific base (Gustafsson & Jonsson, 2004). The academic research in culinary arts (Gustafsson, 2004) has been dominated by the science and technology associated with food production. The term *culinary arts* is in itself a disputed concept, but Gustafsson (2004) defines culinary arts as a multidisciplinary area comprising of an intersection of food science, artistic endeavour and practical skills. Gustafsson, Öström and Anett (2009) also highlight the importance of a wider social and cultural understanding of food and meal-making. Up until now, research in the discipline of culinary arts and meal science has focused on sensory aspects (Nygren, 2004; Swahn, 2011), customer experience (Hansen, 2005; Prim, 2007; Walter, 2011), health aspects (Rapp, 2008), and cultural aspects of the meal (Jonsson, 2004; Sporre Magnusson, 2015; Tellström, 2006). The meal-makers themselves have been researched in relation to the evolution of the complexity of their knowledge (Sporre Magnusson, 2015). Although, the practitioners' micro-work processes, including the organisational conditions and practical knowledge constituting restaurant work that are essential parts of the discipline (Gustafsson & Jonsson, 2004), will be further researched in this thesis. The tacit knowledge of restaurant work also comprises aesthetical creativity (Gustafsson et al., 2009), which

is acknowledged in this thesis. Investigations of restaurant businesses and the practices in dining rooms and kitchens are at the core of the discipline, along with a development of the methods with which this can be studied.

Review of research on work in restaurants

To be able to apprehend work processes in restaurants, it is important to consider how and what knowledge is transferred between practitioners, as well as how owners, managers and personnel communicate. Moreover, the organisational structures of restaurants, including work procedures, management and leadership that constitute the conditions of restaurant work, must be taken into account for the understanding of everyday work activities. Entrepreneurship is often connected with the running of small restaurants, and is part of the conditions of restaurant work. Consequently, a related literature review about all these areas will be presented.

Everyday activities in kitchens and dining rooms

There is a limited number of studies that examine the mundane work in restaurant kitchens and dining rooms and are the ethnographic research by Jönsson (2012), Fine (1996/2009), James (2006), Ganter (2004), Marshall (1986) and Whyte (1948). These studies show how daily work consists of calm, systematic, time-consuming preparation and routine work, and also of high-tempo, stressful, and unexpected challenges. Fine's (1996/2009) classical study of chefs in four American restaurants describes and links chefs' daily work to routines, which consist of accurate preparations by means of working skills related to work experience. These routines also involve handling the raw food material in proper and economical ways, and to be able to master the built-in requirement of creating tasteful and nice-looking food. In a study on kitchen communication, Lynch (2009) notes that chefs' cooking includes their internal discourse that focuses on the practical matters of work, e.g., about the time left to finish a course or, as mentioned by Demetry (2013), on their own presence within the workspace. Chefs' work is linked to place, tools and raw materials during preparations and service according to Jönsson (2012). Likewise, Fine (1996/2009) highlights the importance of the good organisation of personnel and items in cramped spaces. The same goes for dining room personnel, who additionally have to interact with guests and have control of all surrounding activities, according to Rose (2001), such as food ordering from the kitchens, drink serving and payments.

Although the material world of kitchens – spaces, food stuffs and tools – is distinguished in previous research, it is appropriate to claim that their importance has, to a large degree, been taken for granted and thereby not fully appreciated. The essentialness of the materiality and its related pre-requisites in the daily work of restaurants need to be highlighted in research, which is the intention of this thesis.

Knowledge transfer

Learning by workplace training is part of restaurant work, connects to master-apprentice learning and craftsmanship, and is applicable to knowledge transfer in small restaurants. Daily work in restaurants involves a mix of different competencies, experiences, and learning interactions (Culinary Institute of America, 2014; Fine, 1996/2009; Jönsson, 2012; Gustafsson et al., 2006). The significance of the learning and teaching of newcomers in the restaurant industry are highlighted by scholars, especially in relation to craft learning and apprenticeship. Working methods and attitudes are inherited by newcomers from senior professionals in the restaurant industry, and established routines and habits are not questioned, which is something Cameron (2001) confirms is the norm in in his study of traditionally-run restaurant kitchens. One of the very few areas in which the master-apprentice relationship still flourishes is in haute cuisine, according to Stierand, Dörfler and Lynch (2008), and the learning process at that level is an affair between the master and the apprentice. Jönsson (2012) states that, for a cook to be considered skilled, he must be an apprentice long enough in renowned chefs' restaurants, while going further in his career by imitating and repeating handgrips. Another master-apprentice focus is learning dining room work, especially referring to social skills, which as Lundberg (2010) suggests, are learned by sharing experiences of service encounters between newcomers in the industry and skilled personnel.

In relation to the above, it is feasible to claim that the knowledge ideal in restaurants primarily consists of craftsmanship. The way to become skilled and proficient in a craft organisation is through disciplined hard work over long periods of time, according to Sennett (2008). He further suggests that the learning process of a craft, such as cooking, also consists of trial and error as a way to improve skills and experience, which also is a condition for developing the tacit knowledge, and that concentration, rhythm, and a sense for quality turns practical knowledge into craftsmanship (Sennett, 2008). Subsequently, craft and task-based knowing is developed through the repeated practice of certain tasks under supervision by core members,

a community as stated by Amin and Roberts (2008). In connection to this, Yakhlef (2010) suggests that repetitive task execution also contributes to the development of kinaesthetic and aesthetic senses in the practitioners. More experienced chefs bring to the kitchen not only their craft knowledge, skill and expertise, but also their own apprenticeship experiences from working in other kitchens. It is, according to James (2006), within the production processes of a kitchen that learning occurs for a novice, rather than in restaurant schools.

Knowledge transfer in the industry is mostly comprised of workplace learning, which is important to take into account in the study of restaurant practices, although the crucial connection between craft learning and physical learning has not been fully explored in earlier research and will be considered in this thesis.

Work procedures

The production process is naturally closely linked to the organisation of the cooking, and the guests' demands determine the time and cooperation with other workers in the kitchens, as well as in the dining rooms (Culinary Institute of America, 2014; Fine, 1996/2009; Lundqvist, 2006; Whyte, 1948). The organisation of work procedures is related to how routines are established in daily activities of meal production and is closely linked to the formation of practices to be disclosed in this thesis. Lane (2014) asserts that, to achieve a lateral coordination in work procedures, it is required to combine a variety of formalised work processes related to different types of food preparation, and therefore to organise restaurant kitchens through teamwork. This kind of teamwork is, according to Fine (1996/2009), found in the synchronisation of demands between dining rooms and kitchens, as well as in the flexibility between chefs in the division of cooking tasks. But Lane (2014) adds that there are downsides to this organisational order, as it is established under physically and sometimes mentally difficult conditions during long periods of work, which is something also underlined by Mulinari (2007). Despite restaurant work functioning through teamwork, there are hierarchical structures in the industry. In many traditional restaurant kitchens, dominant behaviour distinguishes higher- and lower-ranked chefs. The common occurrence of abusive conduct is highlighted in studies by Burrow, Smith and Yakinthou (2015), Bloisi and Hoel (2008) and Pratten (2003).

The hierarchical organisation of work in restaurants has been discussed extensively in the research, but has not yet been problematised in relation

to the teamwork needed, a contradiction that needs to be examined in order to deepen the understanding of restaurant work.

Leadership in restaurants

Research on leadership in the restaurant industry has several implications for the understanding of work conditions in restaurants. Knowledge of leaders, their learning and their motivation, as well as what norms and duties their activities contain, are important to grasp in order to understand how daily activities are formed in restaurants – especially since the authoritarian and traditional top-down leadership style still lingers. A leadership style that was, according to Ganter (2004), an attempt to copy the division of labour in large industries and was introduced into restaurants in the beginning of the last century; the intent was to streamline cooking by using large brigades of kitchen workers. This traditional division of work is often highlighted in the research as an explanation for the rigid order in the industry. Since the master apprenticeship in craft learning furthers a certain kind of organisational order as leaders in craft businesses, referable to many restaurant kitchens, have a "legitimacy of command". This legitimacy is certainly gained through skillfulness, as discussed by Sennett (2008), who notes it makes the leaders responsible for setting the standards to be followed without question. Ottenbacher and Harrington (2007) confirm this in their findings regarding Michelin-starred chefs, who have been shown to follow rigorous top-down management styles. The Michelin-chefs claim that their kitchen personnel do not have sufficient cooking competence or refinement for the development of new products, and that any failure in the creation process could damage the reputation of their restaurants.

In the rare studies that actually deal with day-to-day leadership in restaurants, personal traits are supposed to define the competency of head chefs (Balazs, 2001, 2002; Cameron, 2001). Consequently, Parsa, Self, Nitje and King (2005) assert that, to become successful as a restaurateur, you have to be a flexible, communicative, and positive manager. In two studies by Balazs (2001, 2002) of management in three-star restaurants in France, she notes that the daily work of head chefs consists of a striving for excellence that does not allow any mistakes in the cooking and service. She also discusses how the organisation of these kinds of restaurants is characterised by a high level of creativity and strong formalisation of work processes (Balazs, 2002). Furthermore, a dilemma for head chefs is that they often need to manage the balance between their professionalism as cooking experts and

their role as managers/leaders, despite being seldom trained in management according to Lane (2014) and Roosipöld and Longma (2014).

Traditional learning and educational orders are rarely combined as explanation models in studies of restaurant leadership and hierarchies but need to be highlighted.

Management in restaurants

The conditions of the restaurant industry, according to Parsa et al. (2005), require a large degree of elaborate control and evaluation. The running of a restaurant is influenced by economics, including customer frequency, prices, the availability of raw materials, and the competence and education of personnel. Planning, routines, and work habits thus need to cohere tightly in order for small restaurants to succeed (Jönsson & Knutsson, 2009). Well-crafted, well-researched business plans and the ability to execute and evaluate them are also required according to Camillo, Connolly, and Woo Gon (2008).

When discussing the circumstances of restaurant work, management and leadership are important factors to consider, especially since restaurateurs are seldom trained or educated in such matters. Furthermore, the complexity of cooking and service makes their daily work complicated and stressful, which is especially clear in relation to the way time is managed which is in turn decisive for accomplishing the successful delivery of a restaurant meal. Both Demetry (2013) and James (2006) emphasise that time-use in kitchens affects chefs' work situations, since timing and tempo are essential for cooking well and in the right order during the rush of service. Restaurant owners face guests' expectations in relation to the production system in their restaurants – not only on an everyday basis but also over longer periods of time. As a result, especially in tourist destinations, restaurant workers, primarily the managers/owners, might have to work 14–18 hours per day during the months-long peak season in order to meet demand, as stated by Lundtorp, Rassing, and Wanhill (1999).

The fact that time-use is related to restaurant management is something that has seldom been pointed out in the research, so its impact on the practitioners' long-term handling of business matters must be considered in research.

Restaurant entrepreneurship

Small restaurants are the predominant places of employment in the restaurant industry, especially in Sweden (BFUF, 2014). The running of small restaurants is often connected with entrepreneurship, and the drivers and

conditions that controls entrepreneurs' working lives are important to consider when looking to define restaurant work. In Fine's (1996/2009) discussion of the reasons for choosing to be part of the restaurant industry, the creativity of the work, the abundant work opportunities and work satisfaction are mentioned. Furthermore, he says that operating a restaurant provides a basis for symbolic status in the community. The privilege of owning a business and the opportunity to make an aesthetic and personal statement (Fine, 1996/2009) are also important, a reasoning that is also put forward by Skalpe (2003). The fulfilment of the dream of having one's own business is the primary reason for small-scale restaurant owners to work hard and long hours according to Hultman (2013) and Parsa et al. (2005). An additional reason to work in restaurants is to have fun while being busy together with co-workers, which is noted by Balazs (2002), who also stresses that gaining a high reputation for excellence is a strong incentive to proceed in the industry.

Although there is a wide range of reasons to become part of the restaurant industry, making money and minimisation of risk do not generally feature in it (Skalpe, 2003). In tourist destinations, as Getz and Petersen (2005) and Ioannides and Petersen (2003) find, the majority of hospitality entrepreneurs (including restaurateurs) often are middle-aged and have lifestyle as their strongest motivational factor for starting/purchasing a small business. However, a major component in business start-ups is risk evaluation, which is often made by heart and gut feeling in the lifestyle- tinged restaurant industry, as noted by Balazs (2002) and Skalpe (2003).

The terms that are connected with entrepreneurship are useful for the understanding of restaurateurs' and managers' motivations, but need to be combined with other industry factors to be helpful in the research on the daily work in the industry.

FAMM

In this context, the development of the entire production system of restaurant meals that is taken into consideration in the Five Aspects Meal Model, FAMM (Gustafsson et al., 2006) is useful to apprehend. The model, deriving from the discipline of culinary arts and meal science, is based on the following aspects: the room, the meeting, the product, the management control system, and the atmosphere, which altogether form a conceptualisation of the process of making commercial meals in a reflective way (Gustafsson, 2004; Gustafsson et al., 2009; Gustafsson et al., 2006). FAMM adopts a holistic view of restaurant meals, and is a framework for planning

and analysing them. The model has also been established in meal planning of the public sector in Sweden (Sporre Magnusson, 2015). According to Stierand and Wood (2012, p. 145), the model is "the presently dominant paradigm for understanding the meal experience in a hospitality context." But Stierand and Wood, together with other scholars such as Hansen, Jensen, and Gustafsson (2005), have objections to the model, claiming it is difficult to access from a guest's perspective. They also claim that the model aims to manipulate the meal experience by managing it, particularly through the management control system. On the other hand, Jönsson and Knutsson (2009) discuss the model from a restaurant production perspective, and suggest an extended view on the aspect of the control system, which they claim influences the likelihood of sustaining a lasting restaurant business. Furthermore, the production system described in FAMM needs to be carefully considered, since a focus on the needs of guests will not in itself create a profitable and successful restaurant business, according to Carlbäck (2010). A way to develop the model is to consider how the model's various aspects interact (Walter, 2011). Since FAMM (Gustafsson et al., 2009; Gustafsson et al., 2006; Gustafsson, 2004) has not previously been used in empirical studies of meal production in restaurants, a discussion of its relevance as a tool to highlighting structures to ensure the completion of a restaurant meal from the perspective of meal producers could be fruitful (Wellton, Jonsson, & Walter, 2016).

During the research and analysis process of this thesis, unresolved questions were generated especially concerning the interlacing of manual and mental work in the restaurant industry, where the product is both tangible and a service consumed alongside its production. To be able to disentangle, understand and explain the circumstances of restaurant work, a choice of a theory applicable for organisations was made; the study of practices and use of a practice theoretical perspective offered an alternative approach to restaurant work research.

Practice theory and work organisations

Approaches of practice theory emphasise activity and processes in all aspects of social life, and the practice theoretical view of the world consists of routinised and cyclic accomplishments (Nicolini, 2012). Furthermore, practice theory is useful "in the analysis of the interconnectedness of bodily routines of behaviour, mental routines of understanding and knowing, and the use of objects" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 258).

The production of a restaurant meal, as demonstrated in the literature review of research on restaurant work, is both highly physical and social. Many different work roles are involved and work habits revolve around a tangible product – food and beverages – that is closely related to a process, i.e., the service. This thesis focuses on how practitioners are involved in the relational whole within which they execute their work (Sandberg & Tsoukas, 2011), and how they configure the specifics of their activities. The restaurant practitioners' activities are made up of cooking and serving with the purpose of offering meals to guests. The specifics of these activities are identified through different constituent elements, primarily *materiality*, *knowledge* and *sense-making*. The constituent elements interact in social practices. Therefore, the complexity and reciprocity of the elements are important to take into account in the study of work, in order to get an overall understanding of how and why practices are formed in the way they are (Svingstedt, 2012).

In this thesis, the constituent elements are completed with constituent components founded in practice theory research (called *components* here, as their level of relevance often is subordinate to the elements). Additionally, they are significant for the analysis and understanding of the daily work practices in restaurants and the ideas of professionalism in the industry.

Perspectives on organisations in practice theory, together with elements and components that are particularly essential for the understanding of restaurant work, are presented in this section. But first an overview of the basics of practice theory is conducted.

A review of practice theory literature

Practice theory has its origin in a multitude of theoretical approaches. In line with the views of Bourdieu (1995), Giddens (1984), Latour (2005) and Schatzki (1996), it is possible to note in what ways consequentiality in everyday actions is essential for producing the contours of the social world, according to Feldman and Orlikowski (2011). Furthermore, in the understanding of Reckwitz (2002), Bourdieu highlights the importance of practical understanding rather than seeing human agency as an exclusively calculating and reflective mind. Moreover, Latour has consistently argued that agency is a capacity in humans that is realised through the associations of actors (whether human or nonhuman), and thus relational, emergent, and shifting, according to Reckwitz (2002). In addition, practice theory does not divide reality into structural levels, and its theorists assert that the world is

composed of related practices, although of different degrees of relevance (Nicolini, 2012).

According to Schatzki, Knorr-Cetina and Von Savigny (2000), practice theory is a subtype of cultural theory, and practice is not solely placed in the mind, as are neither the interaction nor the discourse. Reckwitz's (2002, p. 249) definition of practice, widely accepted among practice scholars, is in accordance with this study on restaurant work, and the way restaurant practices can be studied, is as follows:

> … a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, inter-connected to one another: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activi-ties, "things" and their use, a background knowledge in the form of under-standing, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge.

In sum, practices are situated in specific places, comprise the use of ob-jects, and are executed during a certain time span. They can be considered as routines or patterns of action that are performed by an agent – the prac-titioner or several practitioners; in other words, practices stabilise everyday performance and reduce uncertainty as they are routinised. It then follows that the element of sense-making always manifests itself as part of ongoing practices. It is necessary to underline the fact that practices are the starting points of understanding human and social activities (Nicolini, 2012, p. 162). It is also important to note that practice theory considers individuals as carriers of practices in the form of habitual ways of understanding, know-ing, and desiring, as well as patterns of bodily behaviours. Although indi-viduals take part in these practices, they do not constitute personal qualities of the carrier (Reckwitz, 2002). As in the research on management, specifi-cally strategy-as-practice, Chia and MacKay (2007) point out that strategy making should be researched and analysed separately from individual strat-egists to collective, culturally and historically transmitted social practices.

Practice theory predominately rejects dualism according to Feldman and Orlikowski (2011), as practices are intertwined and seldom in contrast to one another, although Nicolini and Monteiro (2016), point to a dialectic approach that they suggest refers to "[…] the co-evolution, conflict, inter-ference of two or more practices" (Nicolini & Monteiro, 2016 p. 17). This approach, which is based on analysing practices and exposing tensions and contradictions, is relevant for this thesis as it provides a way to understand contradictory practices in industries such as the craft-dominated restaurant

industry. Nicolini & Monteiro (2016) also suggest that this dialectic approach is useful to inform and start reflective learning processes among practitioners.

Practice theoretical perspectives on organisations

Practice theory in organisational research focuses on micro-processes of practitioners and how they interact and transmit practices within their organisational contexts. In the view of this, practice theory is used in this thesis to identify central elements (Shove, Pantzar, & Watson, 2012) and understand how they are involved in the organisational practices that affect restaurant practitioners' daily lives and work. Elements such as materiality, knowledge, and sense-making (Shove et al., 2012) form configurations that are made up of activities. In work organisations, practices can be defined as how work activities are accomplished relationally, how mundane objects aid in achieving activities, how talking enacts and defines work, how institutional contexts and historical understandings arise, and how temporal elements and joint practices over time shape bundles of entwined practices (Korica, Nicolini, & Johnson, 2015). Furthermore, sense-making and knowing in work emerge from practices carried out in organisations (Nicolini, 2012, p. 7). To identify and understand how the daily work contributes to manifesting ideas of professionalism among restaurant practitioners, in this thesis a practice theoretical perspective is used. This is because the organisational approaches of practice theory facilitate a deeper understanding of how mundane perceptions of professionalism are constituted in workplaces, which is done by monitoring the practitioners' doings and sayings that are directly entailed with daily work.

Materiality

According to Orlikowski (2007), every organisational practice is always bound with materiality, including spaces. She also notes that: "[....] materiality has been largely ignored by organizational theory, which appears to assume (often implicitly) that it does not matter or does not matter very much in everyday organizing" Orlikowski (2007, p.1436). In manual work, materiality and spatiality are obvious while revealing its importance may be less self-evident in non-manual work, which often is in focus in strategy-as-practice research. An example of this is Jazrabkowski and Seidl's (2008) study, where the importance of materiality came to fore as they found that the element of space had a symbolic role in university strategy meetings. Since the physical placements of meetings separated participants from their

departmental interests, an increased authority was accorded to meeting participants who were located in the center of the universities compounds. This example confirms the argument that materiality is not just randomly part of practice, but is essential to it and practices are always and everywhere sociomaterial, which is interesting for this thesis since things, spaces and their entwinement have obvious importance in restaurant work. According to Orlikowski (2007), sociomateriality shapes form and the possibilities of everyday organising. The performativity of technologies, including objects and technological networks, have been examined from the relational position of the entanglement between the material and the social. Svingstedt (2012) discusses in a hospitality context that, in the practice of service encounters, the routines surrounding the materiality (that binds concierges to the reception counters where their computers were) lessen the possibilities of providing the expected level of service to guests. Even if artefacts and objects are central to practices, it is necessary to apprehend that the materiality involved is not independent of its use in the practice, as well as the practice being entangled with the materiality that is part of it (Nicolini, 2012). Furthermore, in practices, materiality and knowledge are intertwined: "Objects, tools and artefacts embody knowledge; anchor practices in their materiality" (Gherardi, 2009, p. 354).

Knowledge and learning

As discussed by Lave and Wenger (1991/2011), practices contain knowledge and learning, which carry historical traces of materiality, language and symbols, and social structures. This is in line with the results presented in the review of research on restaurant work (see above section) and needs to be further investigated in this thesis for a deeper understanding of the daily work activities of the practitioners and what constitutes professionalism.

Practical knowledge is learned by experience, and knowledge is mediated in the transformation of a newcomer in an industry into a full practitioner, says Gherardi (2009, 2012). In the view of Shove and Pantzar (2007), the sustainment and reproduction of practices shape the [professional] careers of practitioners by means of accumulating experience. Accordingly, this is dependent on participation in a location of a practice, a situated activity, gaining knowledge and skills, appropriate discourses, and a feeling of motivation for an occupation (Lave & Wenger, 1991/2011). Learning/knowing is a matter of doing, which can only be done through the efforts of the hu-

man body, according to Yakhlef (2010). He further argues that skill refinement is an unending process of learning, and adds that skills are developed and conserved through moving, seeing, and touching, which makes corporeality central to situated working practices (Yakhlef, 2010). As mentioned above, place and materiality have a function of mediation in learning, and contribute to an overall experience of work identity. Lave and Wenger (2011) explain that learning and a sense of identity are inseparable. Furthermore, the transfer of tacit knowledge is closely linked to its specific social context and will only circulate in that context, as stated by Gertler (2003). This is apparent concerning craft learning in restaurants and is confirmed in Nicolini's (2012) view on the occurrence of situated learning in workplaces, wherein newcomers not only grasp the proper way to execute the job but also absorb the expected way of being in the practice, according to the specifics of excellence, values and ethics of the practice (Nicolini, 2012). It is also important to consider how and what knowledge is collectively created and transferred in professional learning in different industries. Practice theory perspectives on the introduction of newcomers are also helpful in finding out if the combination of leaders, peers and the work organisation locally stabilise a situated practice and its reciprocal power relations (Gherardi & Perrotta, 2016). This is essential for the analysis of work circumstances in restaurants, as it was demonstrated in the research review above (see section *Leadership in restaurants*) that the industry has a long history of hierarchies and discipline-centred leadership.

Sense-making and norms

Practices are patterns of action that are performed by practitioners in a way that make sense to them (Nicolini, 2012; Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki, 1996). This is the way practices stabilise everyday performance and reduce uncertainty, as underscored by Reckwitz (2002). In this thesis, the sense-making in practices has apparent significance for the understanding of the reasons to be part of the restaurant industry. And, as practices are also socially restricting, they create patterns of socially sustained actions according to Gherardi (2009), who further asserts that, in workplaces, practitioners change the practices in an interaction between enforcement of more or less explicit orders. Hence the practitioners change the purposes and meanings they find in their work practices (Gherardi, 2009).

Moreover, symbolic orders both carry and conceal a condition of power structure in practices (Nicolini, 2012), which is in line with the historically established hierarchical order in the restaurant industry where norms are

built in with the master-apprenticeship relationship and are essential for the study of everyday practices in this thesis. Regarding norms in workplaces, Gherardi and Perotta (2016) state that professional practices are made up of both canonical parts – identifiable as formal prescriptions of tasks and jobs – and non-canonical ones. While the former are transferred through formalised education and training, the latter are transferred during participation in working practices. These practices also, largely implicitly, develop the identity of the practitioner as non-canonical prescriptions and norms are learned and transmitted unconsciously (Gherardi & Perotta, 2016) in the workplace training of the restaurant industry. Furthermore, Elkjaer and Brandi (2014) suggest that, in professionals' practices, the focus may not be so much on reflection, motivations and understanding, but on how to anticipate and deal with organisational complexities concerning time, space, materiality and other practitioners' activities. This mostly results in performativity and power becoming main issues in work practices (Elkjaer & Brandi, 2014), which may have a bearing in restaurant work

Strategy-as-practice

In the running of restaurants, management and strategy-making are central (as presented in the sections on entrepreneurship, management and FAMM) and need to be scrutinised to understand how daily work is organised in the industry. In relation to all kinds of work organisations, Chia and Mackay (2007) assert that everyday strategy-making is commonly based on unreflective 'on-the-spot decisions'. They further suggest that it is motivated to focus on the practitioner's personal background and the practices he/she falls back on, as it enables the researcher to find out how strategy-making actually occurs 'on the ground' (Chia & Mackay, 2007). Regarding competency in management and leadership, the understanding of leadership is primarily related to individuals' planned purposeful performances, which are a part of management, but not necessarily equivalent to leadership. According to Carroll, Levy and Richmond (2008), competency has been highlighted by many scholars as the core of leadership, which they claim is true in certain specific moments, but that the main part of leadership is a daily routinised activity. In research, strategies-as-practices, should be prioritised according to Carroll et al (2008) as they argue that leadership is perfunctory rather than reflective and conscious, and thus consists of routinised decision-making. They also suggest that leadership is a "… subtle, textured, complex embodied and highly situated mindset…" (Carroll et al., 2008, p.

365), rather than a combination of determination, purposefulness, and performance contributing to an overarching strategic plan that is the idea of individual competency. This is interesting to note in relation to the importance of personal traits of leaders discussed in the literature concerning leadership in the restaurant industry (see section *Leadership in restaurants*), and has significance for this thesis.

Time-use

In practice-based studies on consumption, the importance of time and temporalities are apprehended and discussed (Shove et al., 2012) and especially how practices configure temporalities in relation to daily habits and routines in people's personal and collective lives (Holmes, 2015; Southerton, 2013). Although the aspect of temporality is also an important part of practice in organisations, it is rarely discussed in practice-based studies concerning work. Even though, as Gherardi (2012) emphasises, the development of work practices is due to constant and dynamic refinement executed by practitioners over time.

Time-use has much to do with the understanding of restaurant work concerning structuration, temporalities and time spans, (see section *Everyday activities in kitchens and dining room*). Although, in this thesis, the prioritisation of work hours needs to be discussed in relation to how practices are formed in the industry.

However, Orlikowski and Yates consider the aspect of time-use in their article "It's about time" (2002) and they argue that time in workplaces can be referred to as "temporal structures in practice", meaning that the way people in workplaces experience time is through the way they routinely have organised shared everyday practices. Temporal structuring is a social process, and there are always different schedules and temporal structures that people adjust to in everyday working life, such as seasonality, opening hours, meetings and financial cycles. These temporalities are both event-based and clock-based structures, and Orlikowski and Yates (2002) assert that this is apparent concerning the way time is put into activities. For instance, in a restaurant kitchen, time-use concerning preparations can be negotiated by the participants (event-based time), and there are deadlines decided in advance, such as the arrival of guests (clock-based time). From the point of view of Orlikowski and Yates (2002), people should be able to shape time-use both individually and collectively in their working communities by temporal reflexivity, by which they mean awareness of the human potential for reinforcing and altering temporal structures, which could

make it possible to manage time in working life. This reasoning on time-use is applicable to the Discussion in this thesis of the long working hours in the whole of the restaurant sector.

Time-use and agency

Flaherty (2011) discusses time-use from an agency perspective. In an extensive study on time and time-use overall, he suggests that people relate to the experience of time as intervening agents, regarding duration, frequency, sequence, and timing. He means that having strategies for their use of time, such as making personal schedules, is the way people manage time. Moreover, Flaherty (2002) highlights that, even though time agency can give an interpersonal freedom, it is constrained by cultural, relational, and organisational conditions, and: " [. . .] in large meaning they [people] want what they are taught to want and what they want runs parallel to cultural prescriptions of admirable behaviour"(Flaherty 2002, p. 384). This implies that people will accept, for example, long working hours if that is what is expected from a loyal employee – not only by superiors but also by the surrounding peer group.

The aspect of time is addressed by Quiñones, Ford and Teachout (1995) concerning the relationship of job performance and work experience in a meta-analysis of related studies. They find that, although various measures of work experience capture different aspects of job-relevant experience, time-based measures are likely to be poor indicators of actual experiences. This is appropriate to consider when discussing how professionalism is perceived in the restaurant industry – especially concerning time duration in connection with work knowledge.

Professionalism

The rules and obligations of hosting and hospitableness (Lashley, 2008) run like a thread throughout the ideas of professionalism in both the hotel and restaurant industries. But, already in an article published in 1989, Sheldon states that the least professional part of the hospitality sector is food service, and that the restaurant industry should act to further enhance its professionalism. As suggested in the introduction of this thesis, and as highlighted by a variety of scholars, increased professionalisation is a way for the restaurant industry to attract and retain personnel, as well as to develop and create more sustainable businesses. Definitions and discussions of ideas of professionalism in general, and in the hospitality and restaurant industries in particular, are presented in this section.

A review of professionalism literature

Professionalism in its general meaning is, according to Evetts (2003), a normative value system where people share a professional identity comprising similar experiences, understanding, and expertise. This identity is reinforced by a common professional education, professional experience, and participation in a professional organisation. On an individual level, professionalism is reproduced through working places (Evetts, 2003). Professions in this meaning are denominations of personalised work activities conducted by people such as lawyers, doctors and scholars who are relatively autonomous bearers of knowledge systems that are sanctioned by society. This gives them the ability to accomplish work tasks that are considered valuable, and complicated by their clients and the public, as stated by Brante (2014, p. 21). Furthermore, this definition of professionalism is related to intellectual, non-manual occupations, where outcomes have non-commercial purposes.

The traditional view of professionalism is apparently not applicable to restaurant practitioners. But the current movement towards professionalisation of vocations and establishing a professional identity based on belonging to a vocation – be it a computer expert, teacher, personnel administrator, or photographer – is how a professional chef or waiter may look upon himself/herself. Evetts (2013) discusses the transformation of the concept of professionalism from a strict denomination of autonomous professions to vocational identities that mostly belong to organisations/businesses. Accordingly, professionalism is nowadays more often denominated as organisational professionalism. With a broadened use of the term *professionalism* in companies with the aim of recruiting staff, in promotion statements and to motivate employees, Evetts states: "[this] concept of professionalism has an appeal to and for practitioners, employees and managers in the development and maintenance of work identities, career decisions and senses of self" (2013, p 783). Also, Noordegraaf (2007) suggests that professionalism may be seen as set of complex linkages between individual and collective action, between work and outside worlds, where individuals' work knowledge and skills can make them valuable to different organisations. But it also forces them to comply and fit into norms and values determined by peers, managers and the surrounding communities.

Professionalism in restaurants

This 'modern' version of professionalism complies interestingly enough with the traditional view in the restaurant industry, i.e., a professional is considered equal to a craft person who has obtained practical experience through many years of hard and determined labour in many different workplaces, as described by Cameron (2001), Mack (2012), Pratten (2003), and Woodhouse (2016). This organisational professionalism, where practitioners often build their careers on good references from former workplaces, is related to the restaurant industry's professionalism.

Furthermore, hospitality students expressed in a survey by Pizam and Shani in 2009 that enduring the irregular and long working hours, with which hospitality work is associated, requires a personal sacrifice. These sacrifices are connected to pride and self-fulfillment in the ability to carry out demanding tasks, and are a sign of personal strength, strong character and professional behaviour. These survey results connect to Noordegraaf's (2007, p. 780-781) view of professionalisation as primarily about linking work "to organizational and outside realities and about establishing sociosymbolic legitimacy in changing times...." rather than about content and education.

Accordingly, in the context of restaurant work, chefs construct their status as professionals in relation to their daily work activities through occupational 'rhetorics' of justifying their work and explaining to themselves and the public why what they do is admirable and/or necessary (Fine, 1996b). In addition, Fine (1996b p.99) acknowledges that: "Knowledge derives from particular experiences in a 'real' restaurant kitchen.........These [cooking] skills cannot be learned from books, from home cooking, or from trade-school education". While, on the other hand, for increasing professionalism in restaurants, several researchers highlight the advantage of higher education (Hegarty, 2011; Sheldon, 1989; Woodhouse, 2016). And, from an educational perspective, Lee (2014) and Hussey, Holden and Lynch (2011) underscore the dimensions to be included in hospitality professionalism are occupational knowledge, a feel for quality service, customer orientation, a code of ethics, self-awareness based on reflective practice, and the ability for self-management. However, education and networking were not considered as essential for the professional development of head chefs in an interview study done by Roosipöld and Loogma (2014). The head chefs interviewed in that study instead highlight developed communication skills, both as leader/head chef and as a public figure including prestige as culinary experts, and becoming a manager as enhancements of their reputation. These norms and standards also include artisanal requirements on

the products that chefs make, which are also a substantial part of what chefs consider as professionalism in their trade (Fine, 1996/2009).

The ability to manage all kinds of service situations is pivotal for work in dining rooms (the Culinary Institute of America, 2014), where the practitioners' vocational status was lowered during the 1970s and 1980s according to Lundqvist (2006). In a Swedish context, Lundqvist (2006) finds that waiters' craft knowledge, which earlier consisted of completing dishes through, for example, carving and flambéing, became redundant when the chefs took their place in the dining rooms. Although the status of the waiter as a restaurant professional has been elevated in recent years through the practice of sommeliers' handling of wine (a craft of its own), and this cannot be taken into the kitchen by chefs (Jonsson, Ekström, & Nygren, 2008).

In the theoretical framework of FAMM, Gustafsson et al. (2006) assert the necessity of professionalism among the actors who participate in the making of a restaurant meal, including reflexivity concerning preparations, planning and producing and also knowledge of the guests' expectation and, desires.

Concluding comments on the literature

This section underscores that the time-consuming restaurant work processes, including historically traceable hierarchical leadership, are learned mostly by master-apprentice training. Consequently, workplace training is implicitly regarded as the main, if not only way, to learn how to cook and serve in restaurants. Additionally, workplace training is how chefs and waiters gain experience in meal-making to advance in their careers. This may be undisputable, but the compulsory apprenticeship, including continuous changes of workplace and the attitudes followed by that kind of learning, needs to be scrutinised in order to develop the industry. Moreover, the taken-for-granted rationality of participation in workplaces characterised by many long and hard work days, has not yet been addressed. Neither have the deviating views of industry practitioners and educators regarding professionalism been discussed.

Practice theoretical perspectives on work can enhance the understanding of restaurant work processes and how professionalism is conceived in the restaurant industry. Practice theory in organisational research emphasises the elements of materiality, knowledge and sense-making applicable in the social development of habits and routines in everyday restaurant work practices – elements that also enable the disclosure of practices that may be conflicting, i.e., work procedures, management and time-use.

Concepts and models to address problems in the recruitment and retention of personnel in restaurant industry are lacking. These problems need to be addressed by the industry and scholars in order to enable a discussion about necessary changes.

METHODS AND MATERIAL

In this section, the scientific approach of the researcher is presented along with an account of the research process, containing two studies including the reasons for the choice of research methods. The use of the pre-understanding/insider perspective in the thesis and its implications are also discussed. The research material is then presented, along with details of the sampling and research processes. Thereafter, the analysis of the findings in the different papers is shown. Finally, the credibility of the research is evaluated.

Research process

This thesis studies restaurant work and the production of commercial meals. My intention was to make visible the complexity of daily work in restaurants and how professionalism is formed among the studied informants. The situated activities in kitchens and dining rooms in small restaurants was my research area. In this context, a qualitative approach was helpful as my objective was to interpret and understand ongoing processes, the doings and sayings of the practitioners, the social relationships between them, and also the materiality surrounding them. This interactionist perspective on scientific research is closely related to Blumers' (1969) statements on how social research should concentrate on process and meaning construction in the active negotiations and interpretations of how people understand and interact in the world. This is also true concerning the temporal processes of my research wherein I recognize that meanings are developed/constructed through social interaction between the studied people and the researcher. This is a standpoint that also evolved during the research process and, as a consequence, the research material in the thesis consists of two studies. The first study was conducted in an area that met the requisites for the growth expected in the visitor sector in Sweden (BFUF, 2014). In this study daily work in the small seasonal restaurants was explored with an ethnographical approach. The framework of the Five Aspects Meal Model (Gustafsson et al., 2006), see section *FAMM*, was used in analysing the meal production in the restaurants. However, during the research process, it became clear that a cultural perspective together with FAMM was not sufficient for my comprehension of the research material. This led to choosing a complementary organisational perspective - practice theory - that is valuable in the understanding of working life. The analysis of the findings was conducted by means of elements that originated from practice

theory, from which four practices affiliated to management and lifestyle were derived.

Thereby, a second study was done in order to deepen the knowledge of how leadership in the restaurant industry is expressed. Due to the conceptual and theoretical development of the analysis, a theoretical sampling (Charmaz, 2014) took place, consisting of head chefs and their personnel. Furthermore, practice theoretical components were used in this second study –in the construction of an observation guide – to identify daily micropractices in restaurant kitchens and practices comprehended as characteristic of head chefs' leadership. Practice theoretical components were also used the analysis of the manifestations of professionalism. The 'how' in the everyday activities of the different restaurants uncovered the practice of professionalism in the industry.

In this thesis, I have adopted the suggestion in practice theory of organisations that work must in all cases be studied - in situ -. Work is 'to know how' by actors in contexts where unforeseen situations occur, while at the same time work activities are based on tacit presuppositions, comprising materiality in some form (Gherardi, 2012). Direct observation of scenes of action is the way to study practices situationally (Nicolini & Monteiro, 2016) – a research strategy that was used already in the first study. The research methods used in the two studies are presented next.

Research methods

It was possible to study the 'doings and sayings' of the practitioners in their contexts, the situated work, by observing and talking directly with them (the owners/managers/head chefs and their personnel) in the restaurants. The doings and sayings needed to be identified and re-identified several times, for me to grasp what was actually happening. Consequently, in this thesis, I have investigated the words and actions of restaurant practitioners in their work surroundings. These objectives were accomplished by participating in everyday kitchen life and the organization of mundane activities, such as arrival of the personnel, receiving and sorting of foodstuffs, cooking preparations, morning and afternoon meetings, service, preparations for the next day, washing and cleaning. Observation in the kitchens and dining rooms, along with short conversations, enabled the collection of a variety of information. The observation data provided an understanding of the activities as a whole, while the conversations allowed an understanding of how the practitioners saw their contributions and roles, as expressed by James (2006). Interviews were an additional part in investigating the

daily practices in the restaurants, as they helped to reveal the restaurateurs' reflections, assumptions, and beliefs about how and why they do their daily work. Furthermore, my research approach is based on the suggestion of Nicolini (2012, p. 213) regarding the understanding and representation of practice as "… a reiteration of two basic movements: zooming in on the accomplishments of practice, and zooming out of the relationships [of practices] in space and time."

The interpretations of the content of both the interviews and observations were helped by my pre-understanding of the research area, which is presented in the next section.

Insider perspective

My background in the restaurant industry contributed an insider perspective – the point of view of a researcher who uses his or her position to do research in his/her own environment. As suggested by Merton (1972), the insider perspective or "insiderness", is the researcher's access to and pre-knowledge of the studied context, contrasted with the outsider's reduced capacity of getting insight into the same context. An apparent risk of the insider perspective is the difficulty for the researcher to balance his/her own previous knowledge and use it in a non-biased way. Consequently, it is crucial for the insider researcher to analyse his/her own cultural context without letting personal experience get in the way, as pointed out by Alvesson and Sköldberg (2008). I had to act neutrally, just listening, observing and abstaining from comments were important in finding out how the practitioners conceived their daily work, and not contributing from a consultant perspective. There was sometimes an urge on my part to deliver advice, as there often was a sense of closeness between me as the researcher and the respondents, whose situations were easy to understand due to mutual experience. Hence, reflexivity must play a large part in participant research for reaching a proper representation (Aull Davies, 2008), see also section *The credibility of the research*.

 An advantage to organisational research is having knowledge and long experience of the studied area, especially in seldom-researched workplaces such as restaurants (Jönsson, 2012). Furthermore, previous knowledge can offer a researcher several ways to get in contact with informants and enable him/her to interpret the organisations' language, culture and belief systems through shared experiences, as inferred by Labaree (2002). My professional background was likely a pre-condition for the studies of this thesis to go ahead, in the respect of being welcomed by the owners and managers, who

may have otherwise felt reluctant to expose the inner workings of one's business, and also being someone with whom they could talk openly about all subjects in the industry. In this research, the interviews quickly became relaxed conversations – likewise in the observation situations, where personnel were included, I presented myself as an 'old-timer' in the industry. Additionally, my many years in the restaurant industry as a waiter, headwaiter, housekeeper, chef, head chef and restaurateur enabled me to grasp how work was intended to be performed in the kitchens and dining rooms. The same conclusion is drawn by Jönsson (2012) in his ethnographic study of a small, high-end restaurant, that, without his know-how and experience of working as a chef, he never would have recognised the tacit knowledge of kitchen work and how daily practice was organised. In addition, Ehn (2011) points out the difficulty of identifying sequences of events without previous knowledge of work organisation and routines in any particular field.

My cognisance of the daily work in restaurants was essential for me to quickly grasp routines and habits of the daily work in dining rooms and kitchens, so that I could concentrate on the social processes in the actions and statements of the restaurant owners/managers and their personnel. In this way, I was able to separate intentions from actual accomplishments, which was interesting from the point of view of how the sense-making in the practices could be interpreted. My pre-understanding also helped me to determine the practitioners' skills and knowledge, which was particularly helpful when looking for and interpreting how professionalism was perceived among them. Likewise, overhearing conversations and watching gestures between the owners and their personnel helped in apprehending the workplace ambience. Yet, those and similar apprehensions were important to reconsider several times in a systematic interrogation of the data, which was done by consciously 'washing' the notes taken, along with the transcribed interview texts and by listening repeatedly to the recorded interviews. This was done in the way suggested by Madden (2010), regarding the validity of ethnographic and participant research.

Moreover, discussing my 'insider's observations' with a dozen other researchers, within and outside the research group, was one way of handling ethical and research dilemmas during the time of data collection. Another methodological concern regarding the insider perspective was the risk during interviews of, for example, being trusted with confidential pieces of information that had not been asked for, and the difficulty of trying to navigate properly out of those kinds of conversations. This was applicable also

to the occasionally arising notions that the practitioners had done something the 'wrong way', which has no bearing from a research perspective as highlighted by Corbin and Strauss (2015). The best way to handle these kinds of situations was by referring to my role as a 'neutral' researcher to underline my unavailability to comment or interfere.

To sum up, an insider perspective in research can be helpful in making contact with informants and in interpreting their activities, although it requires an awareness of the impact of the researchers' presence and the eventual bias that comes from a pre-understanding of the studied topics. Thus it was crucial for me to adopt a neutral attitude and mind-set, regardless of what information I obtained in interviews, conversations and observations.

Material

The data material of the thesis includes two studies, which are referenced in the four papers. In this section, the sampling, the research processes of the two studies, and the analysis of the four papers are presented.

The size of the restaurants referred to in this thesis is small, and particularly so given the predominance of small businesses in the restaurant sector in Sweden (BFUF, 2014). The restaurants had between 4 to 40 workers, including both owners/managers and employees.

The first study was performed in eight restaurants in a tourist destination in the south-east of Sweden. The findings were used in papers I, II and IV (see table 2). Interview and observation data from a top-end restaurant in a large Swedish city were also added to the first study to examine any similarities or differences in the meal offerings between rural and urban meal makers. The findings from the top-end city restaurant, however, were only used in Paper IV.

The second study took place in four restaurants with an emphasis on high-quality cooking in four cities in Sweden. Daily practices of head chefs together with their personnel were examined in Paper III. In Paper IV, the data from the first and the second study were used to identify ideas of professionalism crosswise in the industry.

Table 2. Distribution of interviewees and participants in observations in the four papers of the thesis.

	STUDY ONE			STUDY TWO	
Interviewees and partici-pants in observations	Owners/ managers in the tourist destination	Personnel in the tourist destination	Managers in one city restaurant	Head chefs in four city restau-rants	Personnel in four city res-taurants
Paper I	X	X			
Paper II	X	X			
Paper III				X	X
Paper IV	X	X	X	X	X

Study One

The data in Study One were used in papers I, II and IV. The study was carried out at eight small-scale restaurants, chosen for their marketed use of local food products, in a seasonal and rural tourist destination. The study consists of interviews with the owners, eight women and three men. Small restaurant owners/managers generally do both daily restaurant work and business management, and are employers and sometimes entrepreneurs. Semi-structured interviews with the use of an open-ended interview guide were chosen, since they enabled the maintenance of consistency across top-ics between interviews, although it was important to leave space for re-spondents to add information and express their own viewpoints, feelings and intentions. The interviews lasted between one-and-a-half to two hours each. The purpose of the interviews was to illuminate what drivers the re-spondents had to enter the restaurant industry, probing areas such as work experience and education, how they saw their work in relation to dealing with guests, personnel and business management, and what impact their work has had on their lives. The idea was also to discover respondents' ap-prehensions concerning the conditions of a restaurateur's working life, and to eventually connect these apprehensions to their daily activities, which were expected to be revealed during observations. The interviews were rec-orded, completed with notes in a research diary, and transcribed verbatim – a total of 175 pages.

Observations and participant observations

There were observations made in the restaurants in high season and dur-ing shorter visits just before and after that. The purpose of the observations

was to identify what was done and said, and by whom, during a normal workday. The observations were also done in order to find out how work was organised in the dining rooms and kitchens as well as to catch the relations between the restaurant owners/managers and their personnel. All in the intent to identify the situated practices in the different restaurants. The observations were conducted through participation in the daily activities and from time to time just by standing in a corner, taking notes openly, and conversing with the personnel and owners when the pace was slower. The observation was done during both evening and morning shifts (approximately 7 hours per shift).

Furthermore, all the restaurants were spontaneously visited during high season and at end of season at least two times (between 1-2 hours per visit), to observe the on-going activities in the restaurants, both in kitchens and dining rooms to be able to note if anything special had occurred since the last visit, such as changes of personnel or whatever could have affected the daily practices. The total observation time was 80 hours, with 100 pages of transcribed notes.

Visits, questionnaire and data gathering set aside

The central research methods were supplemented with a questionnaire distributed by e-mail in the off-season, concerning whether the season had been successful for the restaurants and what future the owners had in sight.

Additionally, an examination was conducted of published information, such as the restaurants' homepages, advertisements, and articles in local tourist magazines, as well as more general information about how the businesses was conducted.

The separate data gathering in the top-end city restaurant included recorded interviews with two managers and observations at the site during one day. But, further into the analysis of the city restaurant, it was judged by the research group that such a comparison was not compatible with the aims of papers I and II, and it was left out. But, in the final Paper IV, the findings were added. For an overview of the use of the findings in the different studies, see Table 2.

Study Two

The data in Study Two were used in papers III and IV. In this study, four restaurant kitchens with high-quality cooking in different Swedish cities were chosen through a convenience network, that is, a mentoring network on Facebook for women connected to the restaurant industry, made up of

chefs, food entrepreneurs, food journalists and researchers (Kirke, 2016). The network was used to gain access to head chefs and their personnel, thus forming a purposeful sampling with information-rich cases that were of central importance to the purpose of the research (Patton, 1980). Participating in a mentoring network may also suggest a willingness to develop one's occupation and its organisational features (see also Paper III for a further account). The sampling also had theoretical reasons, as mentioned in the first section of Research Process, which also initiated the construction of an observation guide based on practice theoretical assumptions.

Observation guide

The guide was useful to discovering and understanding the routinised activities that form everyday work activities, especially by considering the practice theoretical components of knowledge materiality, corporeality, communication, norms, and taste-making (Geiger, 2009; Gherardi, 2009, 2012; Lave & Wenger, 1991/2011; Nicolini, 2012; Yahklef, 2010) that are traceable to previous research on work in restaurants; research such as in the descriptive findings in ethnographic research on chefs' work c.f Stierands' (2015) study on knowledge transfer between master and apprentices in high end restaurants especially concerning creative work processes, including taste-making; James' (2006) research on how chef apprentices learn to cook in kitchens and vocational schools and how vocational norms are transferred (Steno & Frische, 2015); Jönssons' (2012) findings on how fine dining cooking is executed and Fines' (1996b) on kitchen communication and Demetrys' (2013) cultural study on chefs' work in space and time. The guide was used to observe work activities on a detailed level, relative to all the components, see Table 3, to ensure a close identification on the "how" of the daily kitchen work.

In order to operationalize the below components in relation to the work activities in the kitchens I relied on my own experience from working as a chef. I also relied on information derived from conversations with my colleagues, the chef educators at my University department and on the findings from my first study. Concerning the component of knowledge, for example, I looked/listened for in what ways the practitioners expressed themselves about what they knew in relation to food stuff (textures, nutritional aspects, hygiene). This includes a knowledgeability which I mean is a part of skillfulness in kitchens, included in the complexity in chefs' work, as described by Sporre Magnusson (2015).

Example of observation notes related to each component show how the different components were operationalized, see Table 3.

Table 3. Observation guide (Paper III).

Interrelated components derived from practice theory	Content of everyday work activities to look for	Example of observation notes of operationalised components
Knowledge	How to handle food-stuffs, combine taste and structure, apply a recipe, work in the right order, adapt tempo and rhythm to the work pace of the team, learn to use proper methods, develop skills and master instruments and techniques, adjust to routines.	"In Kitchen S, the sous chef says: 'You learn all the time, you never get fully trained, especially concerning how to make use of the food stuff. You learn from colleagues. To make a sauce, what ingredients, it's one hell of a process, adjusting the fond, adding in portions, important to work with all one's register of tastes. Also, tasting something raw, then cooked, constantly tasting. Dare to try.'"
Materiality	The space in a restaurant kitchen where the activities are ongoing and the people are involved, the way they make use of the tools, food and machinery and finally the products made.	"One of the chefs in Kitchen S lifts down a mixer to make hollandaise sauce and makes sure that the machine is perfectly clean before starting. The melted butter is put in drop by drop. The chef pours the butter from a jar, being extremely focused for 10 minutes."
Communication	What people say to each other and how. How tasks are mediated, how things are used to communicate.	"During assembly of the dessert, Head Chef T calls for the sous chef to come over to the dessert bench to help out, in a friendly and nice voice to show that there is no reason to stress, just do things in an orderly way even if guests are waiting out there in the dining room."

Norms	Lists and guidelines. Outspoken rules and tacit presuppositions, unspoken norms.	"The head chef of Kitchen C says that having music in the kitchen is a divider between head chefs. In some places, total silence is required during 'prep' and service to keep up concentration."
Corporeality	The knowledgeable body – bodily memory. Physical assessment, height and strength. Senses. Movements in the actual space.	"The two experienced chefs in Kitchen T move much more efficiently than the young learner, probably from the experience they've got. It is as if they have adapted a corporal consciousness of the kitchen space and all the things that are in their way."
Taste-making	Food tasting and aesthetic judgments.	"The head chef in Kitchen S cuts off the fat brim of the fish filets and says that the fat brims are perfect for deep frying and to serve as an accessory to the filets."

During the observations, which consisted of one eight-hour evening shift and one eight-hour morning shift in each restaurant, conversations were overheard and gestures between the head chefs and their personnel were observed, as was the manner in which the practitioners moved in relation to the space and to one another. I was also attentive to normative conduct by all practitioners and if/or somebody disregarded expected behaviour.

The food tasting and aesthetic judgements noted were outspoken ones or activities that could be detected from facial expressions during actual tasting or proper aesthetical activities, such as the laying of the plates and decorating them. The observation guide was helpful here too, as it aided in the distinction of the most relevant micro-activities. Additionally, the observations could be followed up by questions to help clarify such components as norms and taste-making. The observations of the daily activities of three of the head chefs and their personnel, a total of 48 hours, were documented in notebooks (100 pages). The notes were transcribed.

The "interview to the double"

In Study Two, the method of the 'interview to the double' described by Nicolini (2009) and Gherardi (2012) was used, as it is especially intended for articulating and representing practice. The respondent is asked to explain how to do his/her job as they would to someone taking over. This method is meant to elicit how the work is understood by the respondent, as well as revealing the idealisation and norms about how the work should be realised. The method needs to be supplemented by observations, partly because words and stories alone cannot articulate the complexity of the situated tacit knowledge in daily work. Partly because the story of the respondent may not cohere with what is occurring in the daily practices in the workplace (Gherardi, 2012; Nicolini, 2009). The "interviews to the double" with each of the four head chefs (1 – 1.5 hour/interview) were recorded and transcribed verbatim (50 pages).

Concerning the "interview to the double", it was important that the respondent had plenty of time for the interview. This was a little tricky since restaurant practitioners often are on the move, although they were interviewed in the afternoon between shifts, as that it is a quieter time in restaurants. Somewhat more difficult was to get respondents back on track when they started to talk about other things than their daily work. The respondents were rerouted patiently, but later on it was interesting to consider their 'irregular' topics and why they discussed them. As an example, one of the head chefs discussed differences between eating patterns in restaurants on the continent and in Sweden, which helped to interpret how knowledge of meal cultures may be relevant in running a successful restaurant.

Analysing data

Here, the qualitative analysis methods used in the four papers are accounted for, noting that the data from the informants in both studies were used separately and together in the papers (see Table 2).

The aims of the four papers are grounded in the empirical findings, along with the overarching of the thesis: to elucidate how professionalism is done and reproduced inside the restaurant industry by means of practice theory and the Five Aspects Meal Model. By an empirically grounded understanding of daily practices in small restaurants the thesis will show and explain how professionalism including leadership, is formed and understood among restaurant practitioners.

The empirical findings are central to the conclusions of the thesis and the practice theoretical perspective and FAMM function as analytical

frameworks. The qualitative content analysis used in this thesis is scientifically grounded in the empirical data (Corbin & Strauss, 2015) gathered in the two studies. Attentiveness and reflexivity were crucial, both in the gathering of the data material and in its interpretation. During the whole research process, the data were sorted, coded and analysed while recurrently connecting them to theory. In the analysis in papers I, III and IV, the focus was on the interpretation of ongoing activities, the doings and sayings of the practitioners, and the 'how' in the studied restaurants, by means of the three analytical elements from practice theory: materiality/technology, knowledge/competence, and sense-making (Shove, Pantzar, & Watson, 2012).

The empirical categories were then clustered in line with the elements of practice theory and were, in a third step, identified as forming configurations (see, for example, Paper I, Table 1) of practices. This will be further elaborated on in the separate analysis section of the different papers. In Paper II, the data were coded and clustered in accordance with the framework of FAMM.

First, the transcripts from the observations and interviews were read many times in order to sort out information that was relevant to the aims of the research. Then the relevant raw data, including descriptions in field notes and phrases from interviews, were coded on a micro-level. An example from Study One: in the interview transcripts, there were statements from owners of the seasonal restaurants that their main concern was their guests, and that they perceived their commitment to their guests as their greatest strength as restaurateurs. This was coded as 'guest focus', along with resembling codes concerning 'hospitableness', making up a category that was referable to the practice theoretical element of sense-making.

Later, several observation notes from the same restaurants showed that the personnel, mostly very young employees, acted with what was coded as 'uncertainty in guest meetings'. Also, there were seldom owners or managers in place to care for the guests, which was coded as 'disinterest in guest meetings'. These two codes, together with similar codes, formed a pattern that made up a category that was named 'lack of hospitality skills' that referred to the practice theoretical element of knowledge/competence. Apparently, the categories 'hospitableness' and 'lack of hospitality skills' were somewhat opposed. So, by returning to the notes that also had been enhanced with more observations and conversations, the lack of guest focus and hospitableness was subdued to a deeper interpretation in order to clarify what had been said and done by the informants. An alternative assumption, also referable to the element of knowledge/competence, appeared in

this later stage of interpretation as new categories showed the extreme workload of the restaurateurs connected with their time use. With account taken of this new assumption, a new pattern formed and it was possible to interpret the sayings and doings of the restaurateurs in a different way. This extended/deeper interpretation showed that, due to exhaustion, the owners of the small seasonal restaurants handed over the guest meetings to their inexperienced personnel, and a related unreflective use of time was revealed. That in turn was part of the practice of *managing time and season*, which collided with another practice, namely *dreams and lifestyle of the restaurateurs* (Paper I).

Interpretation and interconnections

The analysis was an integrative process. As new insights grew and new dimensions and concepts were identified, the more data was gathered and theoretical assumptions were added. An openness to alternative interpretations and the generation of new ideas in accordance with the standpoints in grounded theory analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 2015) guided the systematic analysis of the four papers. This was done in order to generate abstract theoretical concepts to demonstrate abstract relationships between the studied phenomena as described by Charmaz (2015) in her review on analytic methods in qualitative research. These analytic interconnections are also highlighted in the analysis of practices where Gherardi (2012, p. 155) suggests that the concept of practices resides in the fact that they rest on other practices. The interconnection between practices can help shift the analysis from one practice to a field of practices in order to follow how action connects or disconnects. The interpretation of several ongoing processes of activity facilitated the understanding of what makes up the reality of restaurant practitioners, as in the example above. The connected practices in small seasonal restaurants, time-use and dreams were, as it turned out, entwined (Korica et al., 2015). By analysing their entwinement, it was possible to show the tensions and contradictions (Nicolini & Monteiro, 2016) in the running of restaurants and provide a way to understand how the practitioners struggle with the sense-making in their daily work.

Analysis of papers I and II

The content analysis done in papers I and II was carried out as follows: the transcribed interviews and notes from the observations were treated as communication between informants and the researcher in the way described by Graneheim and Lundman (2004), who assert that there are messages to

be interpreted in the texts. These interpretations were balanced in relation to the chosen research perspective and what the texts expressed in order not to attach meaning that was not there. The analysis of the findings in Study One (papers I and II) entailed several readings of the transcriptions of the empirical data to grasp a sense of the whole of the content. That included, as mentioned earlier, sorting out relevant information from the transcripts in relation to the aim of the study (see Table 1). Then, the interview topics were arranged in consistency the most significant answers from the informants, answers were then condensed into meaning units, which in turn were coded and then categorised relative to their dimensions (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). The dimensions were, for example, education, experience, lifestyle and meal offering. The notes from the observations, visits and meetings were treated in the same manner, i.e., condensed, coded and categorised.

The research group with both practical and scientific knowledge of the field studied the collected data individually. The datasets were analysed first by me and then reviewed and discussed by the entire research group in several meetings. In cases where different views were expressed, discussions continued until consensus was reached. Thus, the categories from interviews and observation notes that were judged to have similarities were identified. Secondly, in Paper I, those categories were brought together in themes by means of the three analytical elements from practice theory: materiality/technology, knowledge/competence, and sense-making (Shove, Pantzar, & Watson, 2012) as exemplified in the section above. The elements were, in a third step, identified as forming configurations (see Paper I, Table 1) and were thereafter clustered into four practices.

In Paper II, the empirical data of the study were treated in the same way as in Paper I, identifying meaning units and categorising them. But here, the interpretation of the categories was related to aspects of the framework of the FAMM (Gustafsson et al, 2006), that used a grid to identify what parts of work activities in small seasonal restaurants may be important to consider when having the intention to produce restaurant meals in a reflexive way.

Analysis of Paper III

Building on empirical coding, three work practices of head chefs were identified based on practice theoretical analysis: knowledge, leadership and management. The empirical data in Paper III consisted of transcribed observation notes and transcriptions from the head chef interviews (sorted by restaurant). Furthermore, the data consisted of the concordance between observations and interviews concerning norms and ideal work performance,

disclosed in the way suggested in the method of interview to the double (see *Study Two*, above). The observation notes, interview transcriptions, and their eventual concordance were then treated as three equivalent data sources. The data sources were used to capture the contents of the everyday work of the head chefs, restaurant-by-restaurant, and consistent to the aim. As an observation guide had been used in the data collection, all the observation data were listed in relation to each component (derived from practice theory) in the observation guide: knowledge, materiality, communication, norms, corporeality, and taste-making. This is shown also in the examples in Table 3. The interview transcripts were coded accordingly with sensitivity to theoretical leadership perspectives and earlier research on restaurant work. Concordance between interviews and observations was sought in the transcribed material and was attributed to the same practice components as in the observation guide.

During the analysis, Nicolini's (2012) suggestion to 'zoom' in on everyday work activities was followed in discussions within the research group, which alternated between data and theoretical assumptions. This was done in order to contribute to the interpretation of the sayings and doings in each of the restaurants and to understand the work activities in the restaurants by means of the practice theory components listed above.

Furthermore, insider interpretation of the data was used to recognise the commonality of the circumstances of everyday work in the different restaurants. In observations of all the head chefs, I recognized by means of the components of knowledge and materiality, for example how their overall skills made them able to seamlessly go in and out of tasks.

In the next stage, the different work activities of head chefs were assessed, compiled in relation to their similarities, and connected in line with the theoretical components. As in the following example, knowledge, communication and norms were the main components that were included in the interpretation of the activities of head chefs, one of whom refused to write detailed instructions for the other chefs, because it would not encourage them to think for themselves. Nevertheless, lists of ingredients for all the different courses were posted throughout the kitchen. For the head chef to insist on the use of written ingredient lists and descriptions may be a way to maintain an acuity among the personnel without monitoring them. I interpreted this acting as a way for head chefs to bridge between reprimands and behaviour changes by referring to lists and descriptions in the daily work. In addition,

the use of lists and descriptions can mean inviting personnel to express opinions about alterations, so that they feel as if they have a part in decision-making – even if that is not the case.

Then, a 'zooming out' (Nicolini, 2012) was done concerning how the connections between work activities were entwined and maintained in all the restaurants in order to conceptualise three leader practice in small craft restaurants.

Analysis of Paper IV

The aim of the paper was to show how professionalism is manifested in the daily practices of restaurants. In this paper, all the data from the restaurants in Study One and Study Two were part of the analysis (see Table 2), so as to have as rich a representation in the empirical data as possible. To begin with, the mundane activities in kitchens and dining rooms detailed in the transcripts of interviews and notes from observations were categorised in terms of their properties and dimensions (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). For example, remarks between informants during work or explanations from informant to researcher concerning, e.g., cooking procedures or opinions on service implementations, written instructions or tickets to co-workers, or the silence in the workplaces were categorised as communicative activities.

Secondly, the categories were searched for the practice theoretical components of knowledge and learning, (Elkjaer & Brandi, 2014; Gherardi, 2009; Lave & Wenger, 1991/2011), communication (Nicolini, 2012), corporeality (Yahklef, 2010) and time use (Orlikowski & Yates, 2002).

These components were used in the analysis of the 'how' in the everyday activities in the different restaurants that stood out as manifestations of professionalism. Concerning knowledge and learning, for example, both chefs and head chefs expressed how the learning of new techniques or new recipes occurred constantly, and that this was confirmed between chefs and was especially apparent when changing workplaces. I interpreted this as meaning that their ability to learn new skills per se made them more attractive in the labour market, and that skills and knowledge contributed to their identities as chefs. Also some of the non-verbal 'doings' of the practitioners, such as the dextrous and efficient handling of the materiality (Wellton et al., *in press*), helped me to recognise work skills that were due to long experience in kitchen and dining room work, such as meat cutting techniques, hygienic packaging of food items, receiving guests and carrying of trays. Those doings were possible to connect to the components of knowledge and time use (see above).

Furthermore, in order to recognise the commonality of work activities in the different restaurants, insider knowledge was again helpful for the interpretation, when switching between pre-understanding and theoretical reflections. In the final stage of analysis, the entire research group discussed and linked the practice theoretical components of knowledge, learning, communication, corporeality, and time-use to the patterns of the activities of daily work (see Paper 4). Thus, the "how" that stood out as manifestations of professional behaviour in the restaurants, disclosed ideas of professionalism means in the restaurant industry.

The quality of research is dependent on the way the data gathering is conducted and the accuracy of the analysis according to Silverman (2006), who also holds forward that the research topics need to fill a research gap and contribute to existing research through a transparent research and analytical process – all of which ensure the credibility of the research and are discussed in the next section.

Credibility of the research

The research gap to be filled by this thesis has been demonstrated in the review of previous literature in the field, namely the scarcity of research about daily meal production in restaurants. This thesis contributes especially to research in the culinary arts, with its empirically grounded understanding of how professionalism is formed and understood among restaurant practitioners, and its deepening of the knowledge of work processes in restaurants. The systematic research process, which Charmaz (2014) holds as of great importance for credibility, is accounted for in the sections concerning the sample, the data collection and the analysis. Also in the papers of this thesis, the empirical findings, statements of the informants, and quotations from the transcriptions all augment the transparency of the interpretation in accordance with the suggestions of Graneheim and Lundman (2004). In the writing, as Van Maanen (2006) states, there is a constant sense of collectivity in the manner in which research papers are read and discussed by colleagues and reviewers, which also contributed to the validation of this research. The validity of the analysis was also enhanced by the datasets being repeatedly reviewed and discussed by researchers (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004) from the fields of culinary arts and meal science, hospitality studies and service management, as well as ethnologists and sociologists.

Reflexivity must play a large part in qualitative research in order to enable a critical self-reflection in the research process (Aull Davies, 2008), which is accounted for in all of the papers of the thesis. Labaree (2002) gives importance to the awareness of the researcher's status within the community being studied, and the bonds that might form between researcher and participants (Labaree, 2002). This relationship is accounted for in this thesis in the presentation of the author's 'insider perspective' and pre-understanding of the field (see section *Method and Materials*). Furthermore, it was important to articulate the purpose of the research to the informants and offer them feedback (Labaree, 2002). The purpose of the studies was initially presented by e-mail to the owners/managers of the restaurants, and verbally to their personnel. Feedback concerning the results, was offered to the owners/managers in e-mails, but also in conversations after the data gatherings were completed.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section starts with summaries of the results from the four appended papers. Thereafter, a conclusive discussion of the core results of the thesis will be presented, addressing daily work practices, especially those of leaders in kitchens and dining rooms, and how ideas of professionalism are formed. This is followed by an assessment of the contributions of this thesis. Lastly, the implications of this thesis for the restaurant industry, as well as for hospitality and culinary arts education, are discussed alongside suggestions for future research.

Results of papers I - IV

The summarised results of papers I-IV are presented here.

Paper I: Three central elements from practice theory were used to identify and comprehend the configuration of the activities involved in daily work in small seasonal restaurants. These three elements consist of: knowledge/competence, technologies/materiality and creation of meaning. The elements shaped four practices identified in this study, which were: 1) managing time and seasons, 2) planning, strategising and controlling, 3) knowing and having skills, and 4) dreams and lifestyle. The results of this paper showed the whole of the restaurant's meal production relating to cooking and serving, and broke down the lifestyle of entrepreneurship to a level of actual activities. The paper detailed the relationship between creativity and creation of meaning in the routines of small restaurants. Daily practices in small restaurants may conflict, such as how the heavy workload of the restaurateurs, in combination with their limited knowledge of and interest in planning and strategising, contrasted with ideas of creativity and development that are intrinsic parts of their dreams and lifestyles.

Paper II: An overall result in this paper was the crucial impact time had on all aspects in the production of meal offerings, underscoring that it is a significant factor to consider in operating all kinds of restaurant businesses – especially seasonal ones. Furthermore, the study highlighted that the owners' prioritisation of supervision and control due to their constant presence actually reduced the capacity to succeed in meal production at their restaurants. As the examination from the production perspective by means of FAMM showed, the management control system influenced the entire meal production in small seasonal restaurants. It was found that standards of

order and style were compromised during high season, which likely influenced the quality of the meal offered to the guests and it was discovered that gut-feeling directed most of the informants' business plans. FAMM was acknowledged as a model whose aspects were pivotal to consider when making meals in restaurants.

Paper III: The daily work activities of kitchen practitioners were examined, with a focus on situated practices. The daily mundane activities of head chefs and their personnel revealed practices of leadership. The paper highlighted three aspects shown to be entwined in the complex leadership role of head chefs: 1) mastering materiality – the mandatory knowledge and experience of the materiality needed to be leader, 2) show and guide – the leader practice related to the preparations situated in space and time, and 3) overview and foresight – the leader practice related to service. Craftsmanship is a cherished part of the profession, but occasionally conflicted with the leadership role of the master, as actually cooking is the highlight of the daily work for many head chefs, rather than being a supervisor. The work routines linked to the way head chefs led their colleagues by word and action through the mundane activities was by a constant presence in the restaurant kitchens. The skilfulness of the head chefs ensured quality by initiating cooperation to increase the productivity of the organisation while allowing co-workers some flexibility. Furthermore, in craft-based kitchens, the situation in the workplace is pre-determined through established practices and routines.

Paper IV: In order to comprehend how professionalism was manifest inside the restaurant industry, micro-practices in the daily routine of cooking and serving were studied, including the materiality in combination with spaces. The following practice theoretical components were used to find manifest ideas of professionalism among the practitioners: knowledge and learning, including craft skills both in kitchens and dining rooms; communication, including instructions, statements, small talk, short orders and silence; corporeality, including body movements and tempo; and endurance, including time-use. Ideas of professionalism inside the restaurant industry were composed of *craftsmanship* and *customer orientation* that included *observant management* and *loyal perseverance*. Furthermore, the results showed that the traditional conception of long-term experience as a hallmark in the industry contributed to a hierarchical norm of diligence and

stamina. A norm that also maintained unstructured learning trajectories and dismissed the need for higher education among restaurant practitioners.

Discussion

The overall aim of this thesis was to show and explain how professionalism including leadership, is formed and understood among restaurant practitioners. By studying the physical and mental activities concerning things and spaces, together with knowledge, skills and sense-making in the routines and habits of restaurant practitioners, practice theoretical elements helped disclose "the regimes of doings and sayings" (the expression of Nicolini and Monteiro, 2016) in small restaurants. The practice perspective facilitated the understanding of what meaning/sense practitioners make out of participating in work organisations that have complex structures related to learning and knowledge and old-fashioned working conditions. Furthermore, the 'zooming in' on micro-practices as being the 'how' of daily work – or the accomplishments of practice, as suggested by Nicolini (2012) – and the 'zooming out' of the relationships between practices in space and time (Nicolini, 2012) paved the way to disclose performative patterns of professionalism inside the restaurant industry. Since this thesis provides an interpretation and new insights into restaurant work from an organisational perspective, it has contributed to a new conceptualisation of ideals of professionalism in the restaurant industry and will provide a solid basis for the discussion of how knowledge transfer in the restaurant industry can develop.

The core results generated by this thesis are the following practices, that show and explain how professionalism is performed in restaurants:

1. mastering the materiality
2. observant management
3. time use

These practices also include additional concepts that will be further presented in respective sections.

Mastering the materiality

Professionalism in the restaurant industry is expressed by the practice of mastering the materiality which is the first result of the thesis. In this section work place training, and the closely related craftsmanship will be presented to further explain the practice of mastering of the materiality.

The primary role of materiality in manual work is identified in this thesis. In practice research the significance of the use of objects in places and time

for the shaping of social worlds is emphasized, and the materiality is essential for the understanding of organizational practices involved according to Gherardi (2009), Korica et al (2015), Nicolini (2012) and Orlikowski (2007). Although in this thesis it is showed that the materiality in the studied restaurants is the essence of the daily practices c.f Fine (1996/2009) and Jönsson (2012), since the materiality in a sense is the purpose of restaurant work (papers III and IV). The practitioners are glued to the materiality demonstrated by the fact that it is part of everyday preparations, the mise-en-place, the service and the finishing work. The raw material, the food products constantly in use in the cooking, are transformed on a daily basis which develops the cooking gradually and adhere to learning processes and knowledge transfer.

Professionalism in the restaurant industry is expressed by the practice of mastering the materiality. As was established in Paper III, the practitioners demonstrated in their respective activities and also expressed verbally that it was crucial to have control over the materiality to be able to succeed in the totality of the meal-making, including the service part. This is logical in relation to upholding and maintaining control over the daily meal production, as in the case of the seasonal restaurant owners in Paper I. These restaurateurs confined themselves to their restaurants at all times to ensure that their meal offerings were properly executed. Thus the impact of space, the materiality of the working area, was shown to be essential in the daily restaurant practices. This was true especially during the high season in the tourist destination, as the workplace constituted the entire world of the informants. Different workplaces shape and determine, together with the abundance of objects, how daily work should be accomplished and this is what practitioners learn from their first day in the industry.

Workplace learning

The knowledgeable handling of the materiality is essential in becoming a professional chef or waiter. And, as Lave and Wenger (1991/2011) show, situated learning in workplaces shapes the identity of practitioners. Professional learning is unquestionably built into restaurant work practices, as leaders, peers and the work organisation shape the knowledge transfer between newcomers and experienced personnel. The learning trajectory, in the form of practical experience, defines the personal capability of the practitioner and the lack of hands-on experience implicitly disqualifies individuals from being part of the industry. Consequently, the handling of the materiality is the never-ending process of becoming a respected restaurant worker,

regardless of formal position. By working many years in restaurant kitchens, the experience and knowledge of cooking have embedded the practical skills into the bodies of chefs, as shown in papers III and IV. As suggested by Yakhlef (2010), bodily knowledge is due to the development of kinaesthetic senses through the repeated practice of tasks, which the experienced practitioners in this thesis claim to have accumulated. This was apparent in their unhesitating and well-adjusted movements and handgrips, in the way that they moved around one and other seamlessly, and in how they talked about how their skills were situated in their backbones. Furthermore, the head chefs expressed how their ingrained bodily skills helped them in their creative thinking concerning taste making of menus and the aesthetic shaping of courses (papers I-IV), by being able to evoke the "feel" of what could be done with the food stuff.

Craftmanship

Craftmanship is included in the practice of mastering of the materiality, and is also part of the meaning of professionalism inside the restaurant industry. The word *craftsmanship* was seldom explicitly mentioned by the informants in the study (Paper III), but it was possible to see the respect and desire for practical knowledge in the sayings of the informants as a marker of the importance they attached to craft proficiency. Accordingly, the practical knowledge gained through workplace training, mostly directed by peers and ultimately supervised by masters, is the way to reach craft proficiency (Lynch, 2009; Fine, 1996b) and become a sterling practitioner. This is in accordance with Gherardi and Perotta's (2016) assumptions that workplace norms implicitly and unconsciously develop the professional identity of practitioners. Craftsmanship influences leader practices in the restaurant industry (Paper III) in the form of knowledge and experience concerning materiality, and is a requirement of being a leader in a craft organisation, cf. Sennett, (2008). The qualitative ideals of craftsmanship presuppose master apprenticeship learning that can uphold hierarchical and outmoded forms of leadership. The craft of cooking can be learned in cooking schools, but knowledge and skills were primarily mediated by apprenticeship and training (papers I–IV) in all of the studied restaurants. In Paper III, it was established that tacit knowledge was transmitted between masters, head chefs, and apprentices/newcomers, as well as relationally among colleagues. All the chefs stated that they were introduced to new workplaces in a similar fashion, by participating right from the start in the daily practices in combination with observing the head chef's – the master's – activities. Those

activities, and the activities of experienced colleagues were interestingly not disputed by either the masters or apprentices during the time of observations in the kitchens. Throughout the observations, the cooking activities were not only expected to be done the 'right way' but also explicitly directed to become perfected by a gradual fine-tuning. In practice theoretical terms concerning work (cf. Gherardi, 2012; Korica et al., 2015), these unquestioned activities may be interpreted as dynamic refinements that make sense to all practitioners through routines and habits done relationally.

Observant management

Professionalism in the restaurant industry is also expressed through the observant management that is the second core result of this thesis. Additionally leadership will be presented in this section along with customer orientation to further explain the practice of observant management. A practice which is relying on experiential-based knowledge and skills, regardless of position of the practitioner and part of leading daily restaurant work. The latter was apparent during observations and in conversations with the managers and personnel. In the meal-making process, obstacles were constantly occurring during preparations and service. Furthermore, problems concerning the materiality and spaces needed to be solved right away according to the informants (papers I, II and IV). The efficient handling of such obstacles and problems stood out as common characteristics of head chefs, restaurant managers and 'old-timers'. Furthermore, the head chefs stated that they had personal routines to "keep track" (Paper III) of things and which helped to come up with quick solutions or alternative ways of working. Their accumulated knowledge of all parts of the meal-making process contributed to their awareness of the constant need to adapt to new circumstances in order to maintain quality of products and service (Paper IV). Observant management was, according to the informants, not primarily based on strategic planning as Carroll et al. (2007) discuss. Nor was their decision-making automatic and unreflective, as Chia and Mackay (2007) suggest concerning on-the-spot-decisions. Rather, it was interpreted by both the managers and head chefs and the researcher as being facilitated by their experiential knowledge, which contributed to their overall attentiveness and awareness of everything going on in the workplace (Paper III). Their knowledge also contained a wide range of specific solutions to handle recurring situations and problems, which were, as several of the informants expressed, assembled over years of daily challenges and trial and error (papers II and IV).

Leadership

The head chefs (Paper III) gained credibility and respect based on their deep and extensive knowledge, which rarely came from education; they tended to be 'barefoot-leaders', in the sense that they were trained to become chefs but not managers. The head chefs stated during interviews that their leading positions were acquired in tandem with their evolving, mostly tacit craft competence. Likewise, as noted during observations, the head chefs only needed to look at the actions conducted by others to adjust to the tasks that needed to be performed, i.e., tacit presuppositions – an overall competence that can be termed as *mastery*. Personal know-how concerning creativity and work skills are developed over time by taking part in daily restaurant practices – and are is part of head chefs' leadership role – but they are not traits belonging to especially gifted individuals, as is often supposed by the public and many scholars, e.g., Balazs (2001, 2002) and Cameron (2001).

Sennett (2000) notes that the leader has 'legitimacy of command', as head chefs and masters are the ones who set standards in restaurants in the same way as in all craft businesses. The leaders have to be in control of the recurrent activities, while simultaneously assessing their significance in relation to expected results. The symbolic order that both carries and conceals a power structure (Nicolini, 2012) is part of the leader practice, as it sends a message to the personnel that the 'quality controller', is in charge and monitoring proceedings. Therefore, discreet supervision by head chefs of work activities during service time in the kitchens stabilises everyday performance and reduces uncertainty (Reckwitz, 2002). Observant management constitutes a pattern of action that is performed by the practitioners , in this case head chefs, in a way that makes sense to them (Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki, 1996), as it improves the quality of the products of their kitchens and at the same time their own reputations as skilled professionals.

Customer orientation

The hospitality attitude can be defined as central to the professionalism of the restaurant industry. The managers, together with the most experienced personnel, emphasized the service part of restaurant work, the customer orientation, in relation to the dimension of professionalism that is underscored by several researchers (Lee, 2014; Hussey et al., 2011; Gustafsson et al., 2006). Furthermore, excellence in service performance, by being able to personalize it for each guest, requires a personal hospitable engagement (Lashley, 2008) and a variety of service skills acquired by many

work hours in many different service situations, as was shown in the informants' reasoning in Paper IV.

The managers' and old-timers' statements showed that it was necessary for a restaurant leader to have an integrated and internalised capability to be observant and sharp-minded to successfully deliver an effective and hospitable performance in both kitchens and dining rooms (Paper IV). Moreover, regarding professionalism in the restaurant industry, it is, regardless of hierarchical position, meritorious to have a distinct and efficient way of making rapid decisions and having immediate solutions to upcoming problems. This dynamic is, to a large degree, due to how time is actually spent in the production process, and is crucial to the provision of meal offerings in terms of personnel alertness. Important to note is that observant management occurs in the present, and therefore does not cover management in terms of making plans for one's business, as it deals with the instantaneous. So the capacity of restaurateurs/managers to cope with their business in the short and long run is not resolved by observant management. Although it is an important part of the daily leadership in kitchens and dining rooms.

For managers, but also for old-timers, the responsibility to observantly manage time in dining rooms and kitchens was prioritised and often forced them to be present at all times (Paper I) – something that will be discussed in the next section.

The time-use

Finally, professionalism in the restaurant industry is expressed in the practice of time-use, and this is the third core result of this thesis. In this section also the concept of loyal perseverance will be presented to further explain the practice of time use.

Time-use is entwined with ideas of professionalism the industry, i.e., extensive time is needed to learn the job in the craft-dominated restaurant industry, which puts pressure on individual practitioners and contributes to their investments in their professional reputation and career. In the research of this thesis, the work experience of practitioners was considered to determine their level of knowledge and skills and was explicitly highlighted as indispensable for successful meal-making – especially by the managers and old-timers.

Thus it was of significance to all practitioners in the studied restaurants to be able to refer to their number of years in the industry, since the personal work experience that a practitioner had accumulated was an implicit measurement of his or her level of craftsmanship/professionalism. These kinds of

statements are logical, as more work time most likely increases competence. Accordingly, the extensive time-use related to duration of experiential acquirement of knowledge and skills has a clearly positive connotation among restaurant practitioners. This, however, is a supposition contested by Quiñones et al. (1995), who find that the amount of worked years in an industry says very little about accumulated knowledge and competence, although this is the dominant perception of professionalism revealed in this thesis. Furthermore, the passionate attitude to one's daily work creates meaningfulness and underlines the importance of professional culinary and artisanal competence, which in the long run increases one's reputation and career opportunities, as discussed by Shove and Pantzar (2007). Additionally, the informants stressed that, as long as learning and enjoyment were central parts of their daily work, hours spent working mattered to a lesser degree (Paper III). Following the experiential learning trajectory is almost mandatory inside the restaurant industry, as in the way Flaherty (2002) speaks of admirable and necessary behaviours containing positive cultural prescriptions.

In all of the studied restaurants, time-use can be seen as social processes of temporal structuring (Orlikowski & Yates, 2002) in which all the practitioners took part while adjusting to a tacitly defined work pace and tempo of preparations and service. Therefore, the time-consuming practices were accepted by the practitioners and, as extensive time was required to execute the daily meal-making, it was simply functional for all parties, employees and managers to rather not reflect on time-use, but merely carry on as usual.

Loyal perseverance

The ability to work hard and long hours was regarded as so exemplary that several of the informants emphasised that perseverance until all tasks were completed was how professional restaurant work should be properly executed (cf. Pizam & Shani, 2009). So perseverance was crucial for being a professional in the industry, which was apparent in the findings of this thesis, both in the relentless work pace with few or no pauses, seen during observations in all of the studied restaurants and in the statements of the informants (papers I, II, III and IV). Moreover, the tacit embodied capability and willingness to work in a focused way until the guests were satisfied, regardless of whether it was long past the 'last call', was expressed by the informants as the goal of their everyday work. The contradiction inherent in the practices of master-apprentice learning was also shown in the participation in the focused everyday work practices that were mandatory quiet which also was considered fostering by old-timers in the studied restaurants

(Paper IV). The kind of professional normativity of not questioned acceptance of superiors' and colleagues' activities may have its origin in the hierarchical structures that have been upheld in the industry up until today (although the normativity may be under reconsideration, which is something that will be discussed further in the *Implications* section).

Learning and the gathering of experience takes time, and may constrain individuals' agency concerning their personal freedom to manage their own time, as discussed by Flaherty (2002). The individual agency of time management may very well be in conflict with shared time practices, such as scheduled working hours, and may be difficult to cope with and undesirable for the restaurant industry to alter in the sense of "temporal reflexivity" (Orlikowski & Yates, 2002). Additionally, alterations to time-use in the industry can be compromised if individual practitioners' willingness to be flexible concerning their input of work hours reinforces the time-consuming practices of the organisations.

On one hand, the investment of an extensive amount of work time makes sense to the practitioners, as it confirms the professional ideals of excellent hospitality as being core to the daily restaurant practices. On the other hand, in the seasonal restaurants, time negatively affected the owners' and their personnel's meeting of guests (Papers I and II). Towards the end of the season, during observations in the dining rooms, it was detected that the owners were absent most of the time and the personnel did not notice guest arrivals or guest demands. This retreat by the owners was interpreted as largely being due to work overload of high season, and they stated that they had reached the limit of their capacities (as a consequence of around 15-20 work hours/day during three weeks) and were apparently exhausted. Therefore the sense-making, the experienced meaningfulness of the daily practices in relation to the practitioners' dreams and lifestyles that is shown in the findings, especially the seasonal restaurateur's' wishes to be alert and interested hosts, collided with their practices of time-use (Paper II). This is in line with Nicolini and Monteiro's (2016) discussion on conflicting practices, where the restaurateurs say that the dissatisfaction in their daily work due to exhaustion negatively influences the fulfilment of their dreams of having their own businesses and being as hospitable as they wished to be.

Concluding remarks

This thesis sheds light on the professionalism in the restaurant industry through the complexity in the daily practices forming it. The professional practices are in many ways ideals to strive for, as they constitute high goals

to reach in everyday work, such as good service and fine food products. The practitioners, as was apparent in their work activities, managed to live up to the expectations they set themselves. Although at times their work efforts were not sufficient, which was apparent in the contradictory practices of time and dreams shown in papers I and II.

Additionally, in the restaurant practices a willingness to learn is explicit which was expressed by the majority of all the practitioners in the studied restaurants. Learning ambition is a way to show dedication and adjustment to the expected ways of being in the industry and reproduces the ideal way of being professional. The situated learning process contains historical traces of social structures and as long as most of the knowledge transfer is conducted in work places, foremost master apprenticeship training, the traditional fostering norms including time consuming experiential learning will probably linger on in the restaurant industry. This implicitly supports the hierarchical conception of long experience as a hallmark in the industry - "old-timers" are the most proficient– which is conceived as the only way to be a proper professional.

The act of balancing professional ideals with the practice of time-use is clearly in conflict as was shown in the daily practices disclosed in this thesis. This also illustrates the common reason for people not staying long in the restaurant industry – it is too demanding and there is too much overtime work.

CONTRIBUTIONS

By conceptualising daily work in small restaurants, and how restaurant practitioners conceive professionalism, this thesis contributes to the ongoing discussion about the challenges to traditional methods of learning and teaching in the culinary field, as well as to how education can be aligned to meet the industrys' needs. Furthermore, the identification of practices facilitates a discussion on the development of management and leadership in the industry, which can improve the knowledge of how to attract and retain personnel and further their occupational commitment.

In the following, the empirical, methodological and theoretical contributions of this thesis will be accounted for.

Empirical

The empirical contribution of this thesis consists of a deepened understanding of restaurant work, with a focus on the owners/managers/head chefs of small restaurants and their personnel. By elucidating practices in small restaurants, this thesis contributes to the understanding of how daily work is accomplished and what practices are involved in the daily of cooking and serving in restaurants. The results of this thesis also depict how the practitioners' ideas about being a professional are formed, and highlight the learning trajectories in the industry, as well as the implications of those learning trajectories on individuals' time investments in becoming a professional.

Methodological

The methodological contribution of this thesis is the application of practice theory in the area of restaurants in culinary arts research, which has not been done before to the extent as in this thesis. A practice theoretical grounding of data gathering was helpful in disclosing the micro-processes in restaurants, by using interviews, conversations and close observation. The systematic analysis of the findings was enabled by the organisational perspective of practice theory, with its focus on materiality, knowledge and sense-making.

Furthermore, the thesis shows how an 'industry insider' perspective can contribute to data gathering on the 'how' rather than the 'what' in the daily meal-making in restaurants.

Theoretical

This thesis makes a theoretical contribution by introducing a practice theory perspective on work to the field of Culinary Arts and Meal Science. A field which is looking for more theoretical perspectives applicable on research especially concerning the practical conditions of its subjects and knowledge development in the industry, and where this thesis has shown the utility of practice theory. And, importantly, by using practice theory as an analytic perspective in the study of the meal-making process, this thesis is immersed in the theoretical development of the discipline.

The practice theory perspective is useful in restaurant research as a tool for analysis on how things and spaces, knowledge transfer and sense making in combination shape practices in the field. Since the thesis provides an interpretation and new insights of restaurant work from an organizational perspective it has contributed to a conceptualizing of what professionalism in the restaurant industry consists of. This conceptualization can also be useful in research on craftsmanship and professionalism in other craft areas.

In contrast to the traditional denomination of professionalism as being the content of an autonomous profession formed by a normative value system, the term professionalism has in this thesis been used as defining individual attitudinal dimensions related to organizations, like identifying oneself as being proficient in a vocation. This use of the definition adds to the ongoing discussion of the need for a development of the terminology concerning professionalism.

In practice theoretical terms the best way to support practitioners refine their practices is possibly to offer them rich examples they can use, according to Nicolini and Monteiro (2016). To bring rich representations of practices, as done in this thesis, may help the restaurant practitioners to see through conventional ways of doing and saying, and aid change and development in the industry. The conceptualization of professionalism in restaurant work in this thesis, places focus on important areas in the industry and possible ways of improvements in both industry and in higher restaurant education.

IMPLICATIONS

The results of this thesis have implications for the future development of the restaurant industry and restaurant education. The restaurant industry provides possibilities for many people to make a living, especially in Sweden where there is great demand for restaurant personnel (BFUF, 2014). This has been the case for decades and, despite the shortage of competent personnel, new restaurants are continuously opening up in cities and seasonal tourist destinations. Even though many young people get their first work experience in the industry, only a few stay on long-term for different reasons, although it seems indisputable that most see poor career prospects there. But some continue as chefs and waiters and, later on, as managers and head chefs. A deeper reflection on their daily work and a discussion on alternative approaches to professionalism makes possible a development of strategies on how to attract and retain personnel. I suggest the following areas for improvements:

- time-use
- leadership
- learning trajectories

Time-use

Even though, as shown in the thesis, time-use in restaurant work contributes to valuable experience among the practitioners, the duality of time-use in restaurants is a crux in the development of the industry, when individual practitioners are continuously working overtime and extreme work shifts.

Concerning the restaurants in the tourist destination, illustrated in papers I and II, the empirical data show incomplete strategies for establishing an overview of the daily meal making – partially due to inefficient time-use. The results in Paper II also show that the management control system of the Five Aspects Meal Model (FAMM) (Gustafsson et al, 2006) influences the entire meal production in the small seasonal restaurants. Consequently, the application of FAMM may provide an adequate tool for evaluation and analysis. By using FAMM as a qualitative checklist, considering both details and the entire meal production process, owners and managers of restaurants can identify opportunities to develop their offerings and improve time-use. A research proposition relevant for culinary arts and hospitality scholars, based on this thesis, is to add the aspect of time consumption to FAMM.

Leadership

Since managers and 'old-timers' in the studied restaurants mostly focused on how to anticipate and deal with organisational challenges and direct other practitioners' activities, there was little time set aside for planning and evaluation. This lack of reflection and understanding of the daily practices risks focusing on normativity and fostering, in line with Elkjaer and Brandis' (2014) suggestions, than on knowledge transfer and motivation. If leaders in the restaurant industry reflect upon and understand the constitution of their daily practices, it would be possible for them to shape their workplaces through development of work content and time structures both for themselves and their personnel, as suggested by Orlikowski and Yates (2002).

Despite the ideals of perseverance and rigid learning trajectory found in this study, change may be in sight. Thankfully, some of the leader practices identified in this thesis suggest a more modern, horizontal kind of leadership than the top-down style of management and the dominant master-apprentice order of the past. According to the interviewed head chefs, they intend to promote the productivity of the organisation by initiating cooperation and teamwork among chefs in both cooking and menu making. The leader practices that contain more respect for co-workers' capacities and a 'showing and guiding' leadership style (Paper III) may contribute to a change of performative ideas of professionalism in the restaurant industry.

Learning and education

The formalisation of work prescriptions was only important to a limited degree to the restaurant practitioners, as most norms were implicitly transferred during situated learning (Lave & Wenger, 1991/2011) – the participation in working practices. Pervasive in this thesis was the practitioners' perception that education, preferably mostly consisting of practical learning, was considered to be valuable up to the high school level, while higher education was not seen as essential since the majority of the practitioners started their careers as novices and apprentices. Moreover, hospitality education on an academic level was hardly mentioned by the informants.

The values of professionalism pointed out by hospitality scholars, especially the reflexivity in all parts of the hospitable meal-making process, are crucial in managing time-use and the change of leadership styles pointed out in this thesis. Higher education supposedly contributes to reflexivity and systematised methods in dealing with change and development.

The assumption put forward in this thesis is that, as long as craftsmanship and experience are heavily reliant on high time-consumption and determine careers in the restaurant industry, higher education must not only focus on renewing curriculums with a greater emphasis on ethics and just working cultures; more importantly, the emphasis should be on developing new ways of working and organising businesses throughout the hospitality sector.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Further research in this area should be on ways of combining craft knowledge with academic knowledge. Such research might be analysis of technical development and the modern organisation of work and workplaces, new business models where different or new kinds of competencies or professions are relevant, and innovative learning methods. Service work, leader practices and mastery in hospitality have hardly been investigated through qualitative research. The transmission of craft skills and knowledge of dining room work would be interesting research topics, as the level of hospitality may turn out to be the primary competitive advantage in restaurants in the future (Visita, 2017).

Finally,

There is no question that the hospitality and restaurant industries attracts a lot of attention and commercial interest with its promising growth expectations, and it is a vital sector for the creation of new jobs and economic development. However, as shown in this thesis, there is a contradiction between what is really going on in the industry and how it is generally perceived. Moreover the concepts of professionalism inside the industry needs to be contested which means that resolute measures must be taken in order to fulfil customer expectations and in order to attract and retain personnel, who together can deliver and help the industry realise its full creative potential.

SVENSK SAMMANFATTNING

Måltidsproduktion på restaurang –
dagliga praktiker och professionella ideal

Tack vare det gastronomiska uppsvinget de senaste tjugo åren i Norden, växer restaurangbranschen och har stora möjligheter att attrahera nya och bredare grupper av arbetskraften. Men trots mediabilder av kulinarisk kreativitet och framgångsrika kockar och krögare finns föreställningar om slitsamma arbetsvillkor, långa arbetsdagar och låga löner vilket hindrar restaurangerna att attrahera och behålla personal. Det finns därför ett stort behov av kunskap om de faktorer som påverkar arbete och utveckling i branschen för att kunna skapa och upprätthålla goda arbetsmiljöer som bidrar till att välutbildad och kunnig arbetskraft stannar kvar.

Den här avhandlingen är uppbyggd av fyra delstudier som behandlar måltidsproduktion på restaurang - arbetets utförande i kök och matsalar på mikronivå.

Syfte

Den övergripande målsättningen med denna avhandling är att fördjupa och utvidga kunskapen om måltidsproduktion på restaurang och hur begreppet professionalism bildas och förstås bland restaurangarbetets utövare. Avhandlingen syftar dessutom till att genom en konceptualisering av arbetsinnehåll, kunskapsöverföring och ledarskap stödja en diskussion om utveckling av restaurangbranschen.

Metod och material

De vetenskapliga metoder som använts i studierna är kvalitativa: semi-strukturerade intervjuer med ägare och chefer i små restaurangföretag på en turistort och i fyra stora städer i Sverige. Ingående observationer på arbetsplatserna genomfördes också där samtal med ägarna/cheferna och deras personal ingick. Det insamlade materialet har analyserats med hjälp av praktikteori samt måltidskunskapens ramverk FAMM.

Resultaten i artiklarna I-V
Artikel I:

För att bidra till kunskap om arbete och arbetsförhållanden i små säsongsrestauranger, studerades åtta arbetsplatser i en turistdestination. De

rutiniserade aktiviteter som formar det dagliga restaurangarbetet bland
ägare och personal visades med hjälp av intervju- och observationsdata som
analyserades via följande praktikteoretiska element: kunskap/ kompetens,
materialitet/teknik och meningsskapande. Dessa bidrog till identifikation av
fyra praktiker: 1) hantering av tid och säsonger; 2) planering, strategiarbete
och kontroll 3) kunskap och färdigheter samt 4) drömmar och livsstil. Dessa
praktiker bidrar till förståelsen för det dagliga restaurangarbetets komplex-
itet och innehåll på små restauranger. Dessa praktiker kan också vara mot-
stridiga, som att den extremt tidskrävande arbetsbördan för krögare i kom-
bination med deras begränsade kunskap om och intresse för planering och
strategiarbete kontrasterar med idéer om kreativitet och utveckling som är
stora delar av deras drömmar och livsstil.

Artikel II:

Ett övergripande resultat i denna artikel är den avgörande betydelsen av
genomtänkt tidsanvändning gällande alla aspekter i produktionen av ett
måltidserbjudande: rummet, mötet, produkten, kontrollsystemet och atmos-
fären som utgör "the five aspects meal model", FAMM. Resultaten under-
stryker att tid är en viktig faktor att tänka på vid drift av alla typer av re-
staurangföretag, särskilt säsongsbetonade. Vidare framhåller artikeln att
krögares prioritering av övervakning och kontroll genom sin egen ständiga
närvaro faktiskt minskade deras förmåga att lyckas med måltidsproduk-
tionen på sin restaurang på grund av den utmattning som de upplevde till
följd av extrema arbetstider. Studiens resultat visade även att – aspekten
kontrollsystemet i FAMM - påverkar hela måltidsproduktionen i små sä-
songsrestauranger och att även ordning och stil inne i lokalerna kan även-
tyras under högsäsong, vilket sannolikt påverkar kvaliteten på måltidsupp-
levelsen som erbjuds gästerna. Ett ytterligare resultat var att "magkänsla"
snarare än planering styrde de flesta krögares affärsplaner. I artikeln fram-
hålls FAMM som en användbar modell med avgörande fördelar för plane-
ring och genomförande av måltidsproduktion på restaurang.

Artikel III:

I denna studie undersöktes med hjälp av praktikteori, det platsspecifika
arbete som förekommer i restaurangkök, där hantverk är det övervägande
arbetssättet och arbetsaktiviteterna är förutbestämda och fastställda av va-
nor och rutiner. I artikeln belyses ledarskapspraktiker via köksmästarnas
och personalens dagliga arbete i restaurangerna. Artikeln framhäver tre

praktiker som visade sig vara sammanfogade i köksmästarens komplexa ledarskapsroll: "bemästrandet av materialiteten" - den obligatoriska kunskapen och erfarenheten i hanteringen av det materiella som är nödvändig för att vara ledare; "visa och leda" var ledarskapsutövning relaterad till förberedelserna på plats och under tid och "överblick och översyn" var en ledarpraktik relaterad till service. Den dagliga matlagningen och hantverket i restaurangköket är viktigare för köksmästarna snarare än ledarskapet. Yrket krockar ofta med ledarrollen. Men genom sin aktiva närvaro i alla arbetssituationer i köken garanterar köksmästarna kvalitet i produkt och service till gästen. Artikelns resultat pekade även mot ett modernare ledarskap som syftar till att främja samarbete i de dagliga köksarbetet för att höja produktiviteten i organisationen, samtidigt som medarbetarna ges möjlighet att forma sitt eget arbete med större flexibilitet.

Artikel IV:

För att förstå hur professionalism görs inom restaurangbranschen studerades mikropraktiker i det dagliga utförandet av matlagning och servering. I artikeln pekas materialitet ut som ett mycket centralt element i det dagliga restaurangarbetet i form av redskap, matvaror och teknik i kombination med utrymmet på arbetsplatsen. För att identifiera och förstå "hur" det dagliga arbetet bidrar till manifesta uppfattningar om professionalism bland restaurangarbetets utövare användes ett praktikteoretiskt perspektiv. Följande analytiska komponenter användes: kunskap och lärande, inklusive hantverkskunskaper både i kök och matsalar; kommunikation, inklusive instruktioner, uttalanden, småprat, korta order och tystnad; kroppslighet, inklusive kroppsrörelser och tempo; uthållighet, inklusive tidsanvändning. Professionalism uppfattades inom restaurangbranschen som hantverkskunnande och kundorientering som innefattar uppmärksam hantering/ ledarskap i alla service situationer samt lojal uthållighet. Vidare visade resultaten att den traditionella uppfattningen om långsiktig erfarenhet som kännetecknande på professionalitet i branschen bidrar till delvis hierarkiska normer om flit och ihärdighet. Dessa normer upprätthåller också en ostrukturerad kunskapsinhämtning och avvisar behovet av högre utbildning för restaurangpersonal.

Slutsatser och vetenskapliga bidrag

Resultaten i avhandlingen visar på hur uppfattningar om professionalitet skapas och upprätthålls inom branschen, det vill säga föreställningar om den viktiga hantverkskunskapen, fokus på service och gästmötet och en

uppmärksam arbetsledning där uthållighet präglad av lojalitet med både gäster och arbetskamrater ingår.

Avhandlingen har med hjälp av de praktikteoretiska elementen materialitet, kunskap och lärande samt meningsskapande bidragit till att visa hur restaurangarbete görs och vad professionalitet innebär i branschen. Avhandlingen visar också empiriskt hur ramverket FAMM kan vara ett användbart verktyg för ägare och chefer i branschen att skapa mer hållbara företag. Avhandlingens resultat öppnar för fördjupade diskussioner om restaurangbranschens möjligheter att utvecklas gällande tidsanvändning, ledarskap, samt nya vägar för lärande för att attrahera och behålla personal.

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